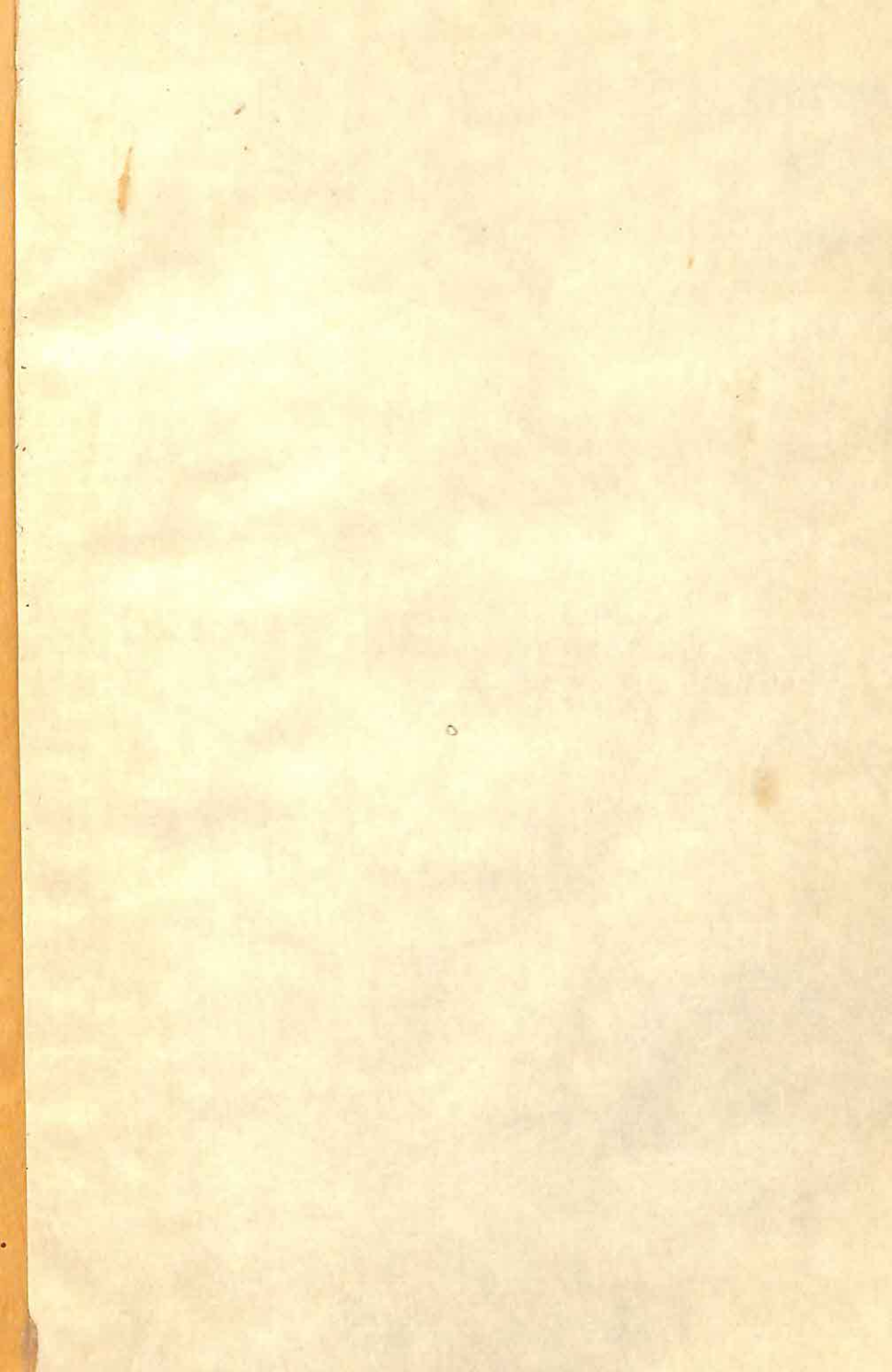# Comparative Education and Global Village

Editor :
Michael V. Belok

Guest Editor :
Joe L. Green

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Contents

Contributors

JAMES E. AKENSON is Associate Professor of Elementary Education at Tennessee Technological University.

JOE L. GREEN is Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Education at Louisiana State University in Shreveport, where he teaches comparative education.

GEORGE A. MALE is Professor of Comparative Education and Director of the Comparative Education Center at the University of Maryland. He is also a past president of the Comparative and International Education Society.

LARRY R. MARSHMAN is Professor of Education at Louisiana State University in Shreveport where he teaches Special Education. He has a special interest in comparative approaches to policy and implementation in that field.

JACK L. NELSON is a professor in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University, where he teaches comparative and international education.

HARVEY G. NEUFELDT is Professor of Secondary Education and Foundations of Education at Tennessee Technological University.

MARY F. NICHOLS is a Ph. D. candidate at Arizona State University specializing in Soviet nationalities and the Soviet education policies. She has done extensive research in the field of minority education in the United States and has served as Field Coordinator with the Affiliation of Arizona Indian Centers, Phoenix, Arizona.

FRANKLIN PARKER Benedum Professor of Education at West Virginia University. He has taught and conducted research extensively in comparative education.

SUSANNE M. SHAFER is Professor of Education at Arizona State University. She is a past-president of the Comparative and International Education Society.

MELANIE B. STEPHENS is a graduate student at Louisiana State University in Shreveport.

ALAN WIEDER teaches at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Introduction

JOE L. GREEN

This issue represents one general aim and several lesser ones. Its broader purpose is primarily one of building an awareness. It seeks to illuminate the readers' perspectives of comparative education as a diverse, yet vital, unifying area within the foundations of education. No other foundations discipline possesses this unique capability for tying together and unifying the contemporary educational drama, a fundamental need in our McLuhanesque global village. Thus, *The Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* devotes this special issue to the field of comparative education with the hope that it will contribute to a heightened awareness of the potential which comparative education holds.

There are other aims, however, more immediate and less subtle in this issue. Generally, these are twofold : (1) to present a qualitative sample of research in the field, *i.e.*, to show the reader what comparative education's "product" is like; and (2) to illustrate aspects of the methodology of the comparative educator, *i.e.*, to exemplify the discipline's "process." The selections in the issue are, of course, in no way exaustive, but stand merely as a sample. No general theme within the field of comparative education was sought, since the idea of comparative education was itself thematic for *The Review Journal*.

The issue begins with two topical studies of education in the United Kingdom, with variations in scope and method. Each of these authors has served a term as President of the Comparative and International Education Society. Their papers carry the

authority of extensive scholarship and experience as comparative educators. George A. Male focuses on the educational problems of England's minorities in a way that may shed light on similar problems throughout the industrial world. Susanne M. Shafer compares the concept of citizenship and political education in the United kingdom and the United States. These studies offer the reader a glimpse of the variations in scope and method employed in comparative education.

Jack L. Nelson's study draws from a broad and deep literature on nationalism to differentiate and analyze research paradigms in nationalistic education throughout the world. His arguments are at once cogent and sobering as he examines the evidence at hand. Nelson's paper may be seen as substantive both in the fact of its significance and in the extent to which it sets the tone for the following papers. Indeed, the theme of nationalistic education, its research paradigms, and its effects on global education seems deserving of a special theme issue in itself.

Following Nelson's article are two closely related ones, each emanating differently from Nelson's thesis. Mary F. Nichols offers a case study on Ukrainian nationalism and Soviet educational policy since Stalin. Colleagues Harvey G. Newfeldt and James E. Akenson present a critical analysis of global education. Nichols' study is particularly relevant to the issues at hand in that she draws a clear and crisp focus on a singular form of nationalism : nationalism within the domain of a larger, collectivist nationalist state. Her analysis confirms the thesis that nationality remains an important and vital force within sectors of Ukrainian society at all levels. The Neufeldt/Akenson study is more historical and philosophical in its approach as it seeks to probe the meaning of global education through an analysis of its development and present status as a concept. Careful attention is accorded certain models and metaphors associated with the concept, particularly the "spaceship earth" model. Readers will hardly be able to resist conjectures that logically associate nationalistic education and the possibilities for global education.

Larry R. Marshman and Melanie B. Stephens employ comparative techniques to illustrate the extent to which practice corresponds with stated policy in the area of education for the handicapped. Their survey, which professes to be general and

based on the literature of national policy in several countries, is valuable in suggesting the diversity between nations in this regard. If nothing else, it makes clear the severity of the gap separating policy from practice in some cases. Whether this is a matter of overstatement on the part of policy or lagging implementation of that policy remains to be studied.

Recent travel to Israel has allowed Franklin Parker to observe the Arab/Jewish conflict and its manifestation in schools. This he reports, with appropriate analysis and criticism, in the next paper. Parker's study is not restricted, however, to the schools as an educative agency. He also discusses other institutions, e. g., the "moshav," the kibbutz, and the Israeli army, each of which bears a unique, educative relationship to Israeli life.

In the issue's final selection, Alan Wieder argues the success of Castro's Cuba in the literacy campaign of 1961. Primarily historical, it seeks to dispel certain beliefs which, according to the author, pass as unquestioned assumptions among many capitalists.

It is anticipated that few readers of the *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* will share each point of view expressed herein, if any do. But a part of the goal is accomplished once the debate is elevated. Such a goal seems paramount in the global village, where interdependence and mutual concerns for survival have been thrust upon one and all alike. Indeed, McLuhan recognized this condition in no better way when he called ours "a brand-new world of allatonceness where time has ceased and space has vanished...a simultaneous happening for which we back in accoustic space". It is at this level of awareness that comparative education makes its case, seeks its justification, and gains its nourishment. And it is here that this issue of the *Review Journal* rests its case.

Problems In The Education Of
Minorities In England

GEORGE A. MALE

For years England has been stereotyped as a country deeply divided along class lines. Race was seldom mentioned, the automatic assumption being that England was composed of white people. The United States, in turn, was widely seen as having a racial problem that deeply divided its citizens. Americans took pride, however, in being democratic; in education this was seen as meaning that the social class background of one's father was not all that important in terms of how school officials treated you. In recent years a more sophisticated America has come to see that equality of educational opportunity is closely related to such socio-economic factors as educational background and type of occupation of the father. England in its turn has waked up to a growing color or race problem.

Though there was considerable publicity in the late 1950's for a few 'race riots' (Notting Hill-1958, etc.) race was not a pressing issue for most people in England in contrast to the bitterness generated by the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 court decision declaring schools segregated by race to be illegal and subsequent attempts to implement that decision in various cities and towns in the United States.

By the early 1960's certain schools in England began to notice sizeable numbers of immigrant children in their classrooms; at first these were mostly newcomers from Jamaica and other parts

of the West Indies. Later sizeable numbers from India and Pakistan also appeared. All these children were termed immigrants at first, and books and reports began to appear dealing with problems associated with the education of immigrants. After a while, people began to notice that Irish, Cypriot or Italian immigrant children in England's schools usually were not cited as a problem but the West Indians and the Asians (Indian and Pakistani) were. The term "coloured" came into use and gradually these children from the West Indies, India and Pakistan came to be called black so that books and articles in the 60's and 70's spoke of the problem of educating blacks. The term "immigrant" continues to be used also, even when a sizeable number of the children have been born in Great Britain and legally, and logically, are not immigrants. An English researcher in 1971 noted that the word immigrant was a code word to mean black and its usage was disguised racism.[1]

The "Problem" of immigrants surfaced in employment, housing and other sectors, as well as in education, and England's Institute of Race Relations commissioned a series of books in the 1960's to focus on the problem of immigrants or blacks. The problem has not gone away, even after England, starting in 1962, began to severely restrict the number of "colored" or "black" immigrants allowed to enter the country.

Margaret Thatcher's election in 1978 as prime minister has been linked with growing anti-black feeling in England. At the annual meeting of the Conservative Party, which Thatcher leads, in 1979 there was considerable talk about further restricting immigration of the non-white type. Fears were expressed about England's culture being altered by these newcomers (blacks) who have become quite visible in schools and factories in most of the larger cities of England.

At the same time many scholars and some politicians speak of England now as a multi-racial or multi-cultural society, and attempts are underway to understand what the schools have done to, and for, the colored immigrant children since 1950 when the influx began in earnest. To look at England in this light is to observe a nation struggling with such terms as "coloured," multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-cultural and their implications for teachers, children and parents. Minority groups in England

have a vital stake in all this but so do the whites as England tries to come to terms with the implications of a pluralistic society.

The educational problem of blacks* in its simplest form is a matter of low achievement in school as compared to the indigenous or native children (the whites), The West Indian children by common agreement are on the bottom, with Asians doing somewhat better, though they also tend to fall behind the white children. In schools where grouping or "streaming" by ability is used the black children get assigned to the lower level groups in disproportionate numbers. The Plowden Report (1967) reported that in one local area (borough) not one immigrant got into a selective secondary school even though 6% of the school population was immigrant.[2] Eleven years later (1978) Hopkins asserted that West Indian children are on the average one year behind grade level on reading.[3] To many Americans this statistic is not all that shocking compared to reports of American black children being three or four years behind grade level by the time they near the end of high school.

Statistics on any aspect of education of blacks in England are hard to come by because the national government after a few years of collecting immigrant or racial statistics stopped doing so in 1973, presumably with the thought that a problem not talked about, or documented, will go away.

The tendency of many in England, especially teachers, to deny that there is a problem is seen by some researchers as the major problem in black education, and race relations generally. It reminds one of the tendency in the United States South before 1954 to deny that segregated schools constituted any difficulty or that there was a race problem.

Teachers in England when interviewed often deny that there is much racial awareness on the part of black and white school children and vehemently deny the existence of racism in their classrooms. The typical assertion is that they treat the children all alike-*i.e.* equally and fairly. Yet Ronald King's 1977 list of problems for immigrant children includes prejudice and hostility from teachers,

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* In keeping with the usage in England, immigrant and black will be used inter-changeably. At times also the words Asian and West Indian will be used.

and from the white pupils.[4] He also lists language difficulties, tests which are not culture free or "culture-neutral" and fear of teachers and white parents that standards will be lowered as sizeable numbers of black children enter school. King suggests that most of the problems grow out of "discontinuities between the cultures of immigrant groups and that of the school."[5]

Very few teachers of black children in England are black (Asian or West Indian), and parents of black children, though often passive, sometimes suggest that teachers don't understand their children or their culture. Milner[6] more aggressively asserts that racism exists in the schools. Certainly the mere presence of more black faces in England, and in England's schools, seems to alarm many white people in England.

In the beginning, around 1948, the numbers were small and blacks tended to stick to neighborhoods near dock areas of London, Liverpool, Cardiff (in Wales) and ports in the north-east of England. Around 1950 many white Englishmen had never met a black person.

> As recently as 1951 a National survey conducted by the Central Office of Information found that 50% of the population has never met a coloured person in their lives; of those who had, many had only done so while overseas in the armed forces, and of the remainder, comparatively few had ever had any real work or social contacts.[7]

At this time (1950) more West Indians emigrated to the United States than to England but in 1952 the McCarran Act shut the door to the United States so people from the Caribbean turned to England. In 1955 some 27,000 West Indians entered England and in 1961 the figure was over 66,000. From India the figure was 5800 in 1955 and 23,750 in 1961. Similarly in 1961, some 25,000 came into England* from Pakistan.[8]

As early as 1958 certain schools in England began to experience a noticeable influx of immigrant children though it was not until the early 1960's that immigrant education began to be recognized as a serious problem. A national survey of higher education (in

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* Often such statistics refer to great Britain but the vast majority of "colored" immigrants settled in England.

1963) made no mention of immigrants[9] and the 1963 national survey of those in the 13-16 age group with average or less than average ability (The "Newsom Report") devoted the equivalent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages to the problems of immigrants. The presence of immigrants in certain regions of England was noted and the point was made that some schools were likely to end up with one-fourth to one-third immigrant enrollment. In another section a point was made about students in England being helped to understand people of other parts of the world. In a sentence in still another section the need to be aware of those in the world who are hungry is followed by an assertion that students in England should not be blind to the "colour bar."[10] The problem of immigrant education or education of blacks was not dealt with as a category. The "Plowden Report" on primary schools (1967) only devoted 5 pages out of 550 to the problem of immigrant education.[11]

As it worked out the large influx of immigrant children caught the schools unprepared in most cases.[12] The few statistics available show that at first immigrants constituted only 1% of the school population; within a very few years the figure had tripled and was 3·2%.[13] Certain schools began to report 30 or 40% immigrant enrollment which later rose to 60% or more. The Southall area of the London borough of Ealing was a case in point with its large Asian (mostly Sikhs) enrollment. Immigrant enrollment in Southall was 1% of the total in 1960 and 15% in 1964. Most of these were non-English speaking Asians. White parents in Southall became alarmed and protested. The national government responded by having the Minister of Education (Sir Edward Boyle) meet personally with the parents in October 1963. Boyle promised some dispersal of the immigrants and added that segregated schools, meaning all-immigrant schools, were dangerous and unwise.[14] Boyle suggested that no school should have in excess of 30% immigrant enrollment. The Local Education Authority (LEA) promptly adopted the 30% quota and began "dispersing" Asian students. Later the cut-off point was raised by the Ealing LEA to 40%.

Under the dispersal policy in the Ealing borough (including Southall) white children attended the nearest school but Asian children were expected, though not legally required, to apply at a central office and then be assigned to schools so as to meet the 30%

quota. Indian leaders at first did not speak out but later indicated strong opposition.[15]

The reasons given to justify the dispersal was that : *a*) it would facilitate the learning of English by breaking up large groups of Asians; *b*) it would enable Asians to learn England's culture faster by taking the Asians away from close contact with large numbers of other Asians. The underlying but seldom voiced reason, according to Killian, was fear by white parents that standards would be lowered when too many immigrants appeared in any one school.[16]

People in England were beginning to worry about too many immigrants in factories, in schools and in the various neighborhoods. This fear led in 1962 to a revision of the immigration quotas which drastically reduced the number of Asian and West Indian immigrants allowed into England. The racist nature of the new rules was obvious in that only small numbers of blacks (Indians, Pakistani and West Indians) were to be allowed in while white immigrants (from Ireland, Australia, etc.) were allowed in almost without limit). Yet, Kirp maintains that liberal minded people in England in the 1960's felt that it was terribly important to do right by the West Indians and the immigrants from India and Pakistan.[17]

Persons concerned about racism in England had formed the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) in 1958 "to encourage and facilitate the study of the relations between races everywhere." The IRR in the 1960's published several books on racial issues, including studies on education of immigrants. In October 1963 the Institute initiated a survey of race relations in Britain which appeared in print in 1969 under the title of *Colour and Citizenship*.[18] In 1964 the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) began working for more positive race laws.

In spite of these efforts fear of immigrants was on the upswing and in the election of 1964 race and immigration were issues, with the Labor Party assumed to be less bothered by colored immigrants than the Conservative Party. Yet, soon after winning the election of 1964 the Labor Party took steps to discourage immigration and to keep the percentage of immigrant children in any one school below 33%.

The 33% limit appeared in 1965 via the national government's Department of Education and Science' Circular 7/65 which called

for dispersal of immigrant children to keep any one school from having more than 33% immigrant enrollment; the policy implied that busing of black children would occur. Busing or dispersal of white students usually was not contemplated and a decade later (1975) it was asserted that busing of white students was unthinkable.[19]

Busing and dispersal were not popular;[20] six years later (1971) in two-thirds of the LEA's with significant numbers of immigrants the dispersal policy was not followed.[21] In 1971 the national government hinted openly that it was not trying to enforce the policy.

Certain local governments, such as Bradford, did try to keep immigrants from overwhelming any one school. Even before the DES Circular 7/65, Bradford had set a limit of 25% immigrant enrollment in any one School, and no classroom was to exceed 30% immigrant enrollment. The limit per classroom was 15% if the immigrants were non-English speaking. At this point in time Bradford had a sizeable Pakistani population and three of its schools had over 40% immigrant enrollment.[22]

In the case of Bradford the quota system and dispersal policy were not preceeded by protests from white parents. Rather, the school administrators decided it was the wise thing to do. Pakistani children were bused to immigrant education centers where special classes in English were provided. Reassignment to a regular school came only when there were openings (i. e. when the quota for immigrants would not be exceeded).

While some local education authorities collected immigrant children in central centers others established "withdrawal" classes or centers in regular schools where for part of the day immigrant children would be brought together to learn English. The problem of teaching immigrant children was exacerbated by the fact that new immigrants enrolled at any time during the school year, often without any skill in the English language.[23]

Some headmasters in county schools sought to refuse admission to immigrant children when in the headmaster's judgment the school already had too many immigrants.[24] In 1966 church schools ("voluntary schools") were criticized for not enrolling their fair share of the immigrants.[25] In 1973 and 1975 the charge against church schools was raised again.[26] The survey done in 1975 by

the National Catholic Commission for Racial Justice found that most Catholic school administrators admitted all blacks who applied but the report said that some priests and head teachers were "racialist."[27]

The vast majority of immigrant school children were in county schools (public schools, Americans would say). Some of these schools isolated the immigrant children for part or all of the school day. Killian asserts that while learning English was the excuse for such isolation or separation the real reason often was protection of white children.

> The concern by white parents that a high proportion of immi-grant children in a local school would hamper the progress of their own children remained unspoken after the early days, though the suspicion that dispersal was still intended to be primarily for the benefit of white children was fed by the fact that white children were rarely bused.[28]

Critics of the separate language centers for immigrant school children claimed that (a) instruction among centers was uneven, (b) teachers were not always qualified, (c) it unwisely isolated black children, (d) the same facilities could be offered in regular schools, (e) absorption of immigrants into England's mainstream culture was hindered by such tactics, which encouraged the tendency of immigrants to be viewed as outsiders and shunned.

Kirp has noted that unlike the case of the United States, minorities in England did not demand busing; busing was a white-initiated policy, which "in the main" was accepted passively by the minorities.[29] Busing was challenged occasionally, mainly by minority groups in England (West Indians and Asians) according to Killian, although there was very little litigation on this issue. The Race Relations Board (RRB) was established as a result of the Race Relations Act of 1965, but the RRB between 1965 and 1977, when it was replaced, never took a school busing case to court,[30] even though a revision of the law in 1968 made it clear that discrimination in education was forbidden.

The year 1965 also saw the formation of ATEPO (Association of Teachers of English to Pupils from Overseas) as an outgrowth of a group of concerned teachers formed two years earlier in Birmingham. Around the same time the Education Panel of the

National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants held conferences on the educational problems of the immigrants and published a handbook (*Practical Suggestions for Teachers of Immigrant Children*) for teachers. The Education Panel also established a sub committee to find out what teacher training institutions were doing to better prepare teachers for working with immigrants.[31] The suspicion was that very little help was being given prospective teachers, a point that was confirmed by the Plowden Report in 1967.[32]

The Schools Council did commission June Derrick in 1965 to study classroom practice in LEA's with regard to immigrant children; this led to the University of Leeds project to provide teaching materials for pupils with inadequate English. The project had in mind children of Asian and Southern European parentage. Rose, in 1969, cited the Derrick study as important because it provided a new perspective, namely not automatically labelling the immigrants as problem children.[33]

The Plowden Report in its brief treatment provided still another focus namely improving school-home contacts and encouraging education of the adult immigrants by getting married teachers to return to teaching where some would be assigned to teach immigrant family groups in the afternoon or evening. It was recommended that these married teachers be given a special course on teaching English as a foreign language.[34] The idea that teachers should also gain greater sensitivity to the cultures of the immigrants came later, and very slowly at that.

Some critics, as early as 1968, warned of the misuse of immigrant manpower (the employment of "skilled engineers as garbage collectors, trained teachers as bus conductors," and so on) and asserted that their children probably would not tolerate such treatment as they grew to adulthood.

> Those coloured immigrants who have arrived in this country in the past fifteen years may unwillingly resign themselves to second-rate treatment in their search for jobs and houses and their attempts to gain access to public places and public services. But it is unlikely that their children, born and educated here, will be equally docile when faced with the frustrations and humiliations of discrimination; anger and violence, rather than self-effacement, may seem to them to be a more realistic response.[35]

The immigrant problem received increased public attention in 1967 and 1968 as Asians ousted by the Kenya government sought refuge in England. The Labor Government in England responded with legislation to further restrict the influx of "coloured" immigrants and a Race Relations Act to extend the categories where discrimination was banned; education was one of the new categories added. 1968 was also the year of Enoch Powell's inflamatory speech. As a Conservative Party member of Parliament Powell warned of whites becoming a minority in Britain. He received considerable criticism for this and subsequent speeches along the same line but also some open support and an undetermined amount of silent support. Symptomatic of worsening race relations was the "race riot" in the Burley area of Leeds where 1300 "coloured" immigrants lived in a neighborhood of 17,000 people.[36]

By 1968 there were slightly more than 1 million immigrants (about 2% of the population, in England. They no longer were clustered in a few areas but rather were found in almost every large town, and most industries employed immigrant workers. Race riots had occurred (North Kensington, Nottingham, Burley) and in London one heard comments that the government ought to "send immigrants back to where they came from."[37]

Daniel's book in 1968 reported on three surveys done in regard to discrimination in housing, jobs, banks and so on. The surveys found much discrimination based on color or race,[38] with West Indians being discriminated against most often.

Meanwhile the immigrants, especially the West Indians, were not doing well in school, and stereotypes began to be used by teachers. The following appeared in a 1968 publication of the Institute of Race Relations.

Any generalization must be tentative, though the unanimity of opinion expressed by teachers and Heads is impressive...... When it comes to work which requires sustained effort the West Indian seems to lack concentration and staying power. Teachers who have experience of both compare the West Indian unfavorably with the Asians in this respect. By nature the West Indian is emotional and exuberant, and this leads to behaviour problems in school.[39]

In 1969 the study of racial problems initiated several years

earlier by the Institute for Race Relations appeared in print and urged Britain to set an example to show that "men of many races can live together in justice and harmony." The study also suggested that LEA's with sizeable immigrant populations should appoint a person (advisor) to watch over immigrant education.[40] Others suggested more provisions of nursery education for immigrant children.

In the 60's England had neglected nursery education generally. Moreover, immigrant children were underrepresented in nursery schools, "partly through the ignorance of their parents."[41] England's failure to provide adequate nursery education was unfortunate as far as immigrant children were concerned because many immigrant mothers worked, especially the West Indians, and some of the school difficulties of West Indians were attributed to lack of toys in the home, lack of healthy play experiences and so on.

There was some attempt by citizen groups to establish playgrounds groups in lieu of nursery schools and to pressure the LEA's to provide more nursery facilities and to better supervise "child tenders."[42]

By 1971 it became clear that the "West Indian educational problem" was being "solved" in part by assigning large numbers ESN (Educational Sub Normal) schools designed for children with IQ's between 50 and 80. The appearance of Coard's book in 1971 brought the issue out into the open. Coard was a West Indian who taught in the West Indies and then in London in ESN schools. Coard claimed that many West Indians had wrongly been classified as lacking ability and needing remedial education because teachers found them to be behavior problems.[43] Moreover, Coard asserted few of these ESN children were over returned to regular schools and being assigned to an ESN school seriously endangered their chance to succeed in life. Coard issued the following series of demands :[44]

1.   black children in ESN be retested, and by a black psychologist;

2.   West Indian teachers teach West Indian children;

3.   all West Indian children with IQ's of 65 or higher be returned to regular schools immediately;

4. black history and culture be made a part of the curriculum of all schools;

5. blacks should open nursery schools and use black dolls and similar equipment.

At this point in time (1971-72) the national government through its Department of Education and Science acknowledged the problem of labeling immigrants as sub-normal.

At present there is a risk of the ability of immigrant children being seriously under-valued and of some being regarded as educationally subnormal when in fact their backwardness may be due solely to language difficulty.[45]

The DES noted the large number of immigrant children in remedial classes and the small number of immigrants who gained access to academic secondary schools (grammar schools).

Some writers at this time (1971) began to see the immigrant problem as part of a larger issue of building a pluralistic society.

The absorption of immigrants into our society is not something that should be tackled piecemeal with a patchwork of remedial exercises, whether in the realm of housing, health or education. It requires a total policy - in fact, a philosophy- for an integrated and pluralistic society, in which all of its members are part and parcel of the integrative process.[46]

Such a pluralistic or multi-cultural society would require that all children learn about the cultures and beliefs of other groups in the same society.

Nothing short of total inclusion can form a sound philosophy for a multi-cultural society. Such a policy will require a common cultural programme for all children in our society, to the extent that each at least knows, understand, and can cultivate some sympathy with the customs, beliefs, hopes and aspirations of the other.[47]

In August 1972 race riots occurred in the Edgehill section of Liverpool, reportedly over the allotting of public housing ("corporation housing") to blacks which was resented by whites living nearby.

At this time (1970-72) slightly more than 3% of England's population was black. Some 64% of schools in England had no

black children whereas 3% had 25% or more black enrollment. Nearly 600 schools had one-third or more black enrollment but less than 150 had more than 50% black enrollment. Haringey, however, had 11 schools with 50% or more immigrant enrollment (largely black).[48]

The words "black" and "immigrant" came to be used interchangeably and when Parliament dealt with the problem in 1973 it did so through its Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. The Report of the Select Committee said that "all students on initial and postgraduate course can should be made aware that, wherever they teach, they will be doing so in a multicultural society."[49] The implication was that teachers and other citizens should learn about other cultures, a point made two years earlier by Morrish.

> If we can only see that the variety of cultures within our midst has something to contribute to the quality of life and enrichment of our society, we shall make a double effort to learn about those cultures and to comprehend them at greater depth.[50]

The Community Relations Commission (CRC)* in 1973 spoke of the educational needs of Asian and West Indian children and urged that more money and attention be given to their schools; the CRC went on to urge that:

1. Asian and West Indian children be taught in smaller classes;

2. teachers be paid extra for teaching in schools with sizeable immigrant enrollment;

3. more guidance personnel be provided;

4. curricula be developed suitable for multiracial schools;

5. attention be given to the problem of a disproportionate number of West Indians being assigned to ESN schools;

6. recognition be given to the importance of pre-school education for immigrant children, including language training;

7. more LEA's get involved in teaching English to Asian women in their own homes.

The CRC also said in its report for 1972-73 that it was very very important that teachers leaving training colleges be prepared to teach in multi-racial classrooms and to educate all children to

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*Established by the Race Relations Act of 1965.

live in a multi-racial society. To this end the curriculum of colleges training teachers should add materials on other cultures and on the culture of minority children.[51]

The Community Relations Commission at this time (1973) established a "working party" on ethnic studies and in July 1973 joined with the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education to initiate a project to look at the training of prospective teachers and inservice education with a view toward giving a "multi-ethnic" flavor to some of the courses. The secretary of the project said, "we want to educate all teachers for a multi-racial society, even the ones who are going to work in all white schools."[52] Specifically a basic course for teachers was recommended in which they would learn about prejudice in themselves and in society.[53].

While prejudice tended to be denied by teachers, the use of stereotypes by teachers was quite evident, especially the one which saw West Indian children as "boisterous and unruly" while Asian children were seen as obedient and hardworking. Critics charged that teachers expected West Indians to fail in school and they often did.

At a conference in September 1973, sponsored by the CRC, there was considerable sentiment in favor of hiring more black teachers for schools with sizeable immigrant enrollment. It was also asserted at this conference that schools were often regarded as white schools to which immigrants had been admitted rather than seeing schools as multi-racial.[54]

At this same conference the issue of black studies stirred up the most controversy. Those in favor argued that "black studies were necessary to give West Indians a sense of identity and pride in their own culture;" those opposed claimed that black children did not want black studies, especially if taught by white teachers.[55]

Testimony given to Parliament's Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration by a member of the Bradford Community Relations Council* criticized black studies courses in secondary schools which stressed slavery, colonialism and the like and failed

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*Local areas tended to have Community Relations Councils; at the national level there was the Community Relations Commission.

to acknowledge the benefits conferred by the British Empire.   The testimony concluded by suggesting that "Asiatic studies" have more to offer than black studies "since Asian cultures have a long and vigorous history."[56]

Testimony from the Bolton Education Committee to the Select Committee indicated that some white parents refused to send their children to a comprehensive secondary school where a third of the children were "coloured."[57]   Meanwhile, testimony from a parent group in Brent to the Select   Committee spoke of the alar- ming number of West Indian children put in remedial classes, including bright but "behaviorally difficult" children.[58]

When the national government was asked in 1973 to set up a committee to investigate the assignment of West Indian children to educationally subnormal schools (ESN) Mrs. Thatcher, head of the Department of Education and Science, declined. [59]

The DES did establish in 1974 its own special unit to deal with "Education Disadvantage."   The policy, though not spelled out, was clearly to lump blacks in with whites of inner city, low socio-economic backgrounds. Asian and West Indian leaders saw this as not facing up to the issue of education of immigrants, or blacks, since the unit would also deal with educational problems of poor whites; the whites out-numbered the immigrants by quite a bit.   At this time (1974) 3.2% of the population of England was black; 2 out of 5 of these had been born in England.

In 1975 the national government provided the money to esta- blish the Centre for Information and Advice on Educational Disadvantage at Manchester University.   The Center was to give advice and information on curriculum and teaching methods for disadvantaged and immigrant children.   Blacks saw this lumping of immigrants in with the disadvantaged as a neglect of the educa- tion of blacks, and at a conference on Educational Disadvantage in April 1975 the blacks in attendance pleaded unsuccessfully for a social agency to deal specifically with educational problems of blacks. As one black educator put it in referring to the Educational Disadvantage Unit (EDU) in the Department of Education and Science :

If we do have the EDU looking at the whole spectrum of disadvantage, we need a particular section of that unit dealing

specifically with the challenges and special needs of black minority group children.[60]

Blacks did have recourse to the Race Relations Board but as of 1975 it had only investigated a few allegations of education discrimination. The contrast with hundreds of cases of education discrimination brought before the courts in the United States after 1954 is striking.

The lack of legal protests is more striking also in view of a widely held view in England that teachers were not well prepared to deal with minority children. As Willey points out, it was only in the second half of the 60's that teacher training institutions began to face up to the problem. In 1970 a start was made on analyzing the syllabi in teacher training colleges (colleges of education) in regard to whether they dealt with the problems of teaching immigrants. In 1975, approximately 75% of the colleges of education included some material relevant to teaching immigrants in some of their courses but far fewer gave a thorough and systematic treatment to this problem. Willey concluded that the way teachers treat the first generation of "immigrant" children, those born in England to black immigrant parents, would have an important effect on race relations.[61] The year 1975 saw the first national conference held in England on the teacher's role in multicultural schools; it was held in February at Coventry Technical College. At the same time there was a widespread tendency in England to ignore or deny the problem of educating blacks.[62]

Milner's book, *Children and Race*, appeared in 1975; in it he indicated the changes needed to make "multi-racial education" a reality.

> But as we have argued, this [multi-racial education can only be successful on the basis of equality between the races, which, here as in America, does not exist. Without it all the pressures of caste and colour, working through prejudice, rejection, and lowered expectations in the minds of teachers and pupils, combine to damage the black child's performance, adjustment and fulfillment.[63]

Milner spoke of the need for more black teachers; for all teachers in "bi-cultural schools" there should be training in bi-cultural education."

Bi-cultural education would seek to foster a positive cultural identity for blacks and would have to be based on equality of the two cultures (black and white). The other culture (black) must be turned to equally in the study of history, geography and other subjects. The English culture must not dominate everything.[64]

Milner favored neighborhood schools but such schools were unlikely for black immigrants in those parts of England still practicing dispersal or busing of black children; two such areas in 1975 were Leicester and Bradford.

Leicester bused both white and immigrant children when certain schools became overcrowded. One-third of the children in Leicester were Asian but no attempt was made to use quotas. Instead, children were assigned to the nearest school wherever possible. Yet there were two schools with no immigrant students and the point was raised in the *Times Educational Supplement* that such all-white schools might suggest racism; it was also noted however, that "so far no one has talked about complaining to the Race Relations Board."[65]

Bradford bused to achieve a better racial mix: it tried to keep any school from becoming more than 33% immigrant. Some 700 Asian children were bused out of three slum areas to schools on the edge of town. Another 1000 Asian children entered these outlying schools after providing their own transportation. Within the urban slum areas there was some racial mixing in neighborhood schools since 22% of the children in such areas were white.[66]

More important than busing in 1975 was the growing evidence that black children, especially the West Indians, were not doing well in school. For example, a survey in Haringey showed that black children were falling further and further behind.[67]

Various efforts were made in 1975 to deal with different aspects of the immigrant education problem. The Schools Council had a Multi-Racial Education Project underway. The London branch of the National Association for Multi-racial Education organized a series of workshops on the theme of "Multi-racial Education-Where Are We Now?" Changes were suggested for the Race Relations Act of 1968 to enable people to go to court quicker when they had a complaint about discrimination in schools. At the same time there was concern that the extra teachers hired to

work with immigrant children in some LEA's might be dismissed because of budget cuts in certain LEA's. These teachers received 75% of their salary from the national government under Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966, but some local governments were finding it difficult to raise the 25% of the salary paid for out of local funds.

The National Association for Multi-racial Education claimed in January 1976 that some LEA's were using Section 11 money from the national government to pay teachers who were not working with immigrant children.[68]

A more important issue was raised in April 1976 when one of 17 groups at a conference of the National Association for the Teachers of English charged that England was a racist society and that "many teachers are not aware of the implications of this for their teaching."[69] In 1976 a new Race Relations Act was enacted which was interpreted as telling local governments, schools, colleges and universities that they must not practice discrimination.

In 1977 the Cmmounity Relations Commission in a booklet titled *A Second Chance* focussed its attention on the colleges of further education, which offered vocational and technical education. The booklet noted with approval that a few colleges of further education had designed special courses for blacks. The colleges of further education were urged to appoint a faculty member with special responsibility for black students, and the national government (DES) was asked to put pressure on LEA's to appoint more blacks to the boards of governors of the further education colleges.[70]

Pressure was mounting on the LEA's to provide special programmes for blacks to help them get prepared to gain admission to colleges of further education. There was a long line of Asian and West Indians seeking to gain admission to colleges of further education; in some cities there were four applicants for every opening.[71] In a related development the Manpower Services Commission has spotlighted the problem of untrained black youth, and the DES has asked its HMI's to persuade LEA's to do something about the problem.[72]

Calling on the national government to do more to help on the education of minority children is a thread that runs through the

1970's. Typically the national government was criticized for its inactivity, or for its ineffectiveness. Both the Community Relations Commission and the Race Relations Board were dissatisfied with the willingness of the DES, or other parts of the national government, to take action. In April 1977 the chairman of the new Commission for Racial Equality tried to assure people that the progress made in the field of education by the local community relations councils and the National Community Relations Commission (CRC) would not be lost as the CRC was replaced by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). He pledged that the CRE would fight to get more black teachers and better schools in the areas where immigrants were concentrated.[73]

One of the problems was lack of information on the numbers of black teachers, the number of black students and so on; all of this stemmed from the decision of the national government in 1973 to stop collecting racial statistics. In April 1977 the DES got on the bandwagon of those now advocating the collecting of racial statistics in order to identify educational problems with more precision. In the fall of 1977 the vice chairwoman of the Caribbean Teachers Association come out in favor of the DES collecting statistics on West Indian children. She pointed out that West Indian parents who complained about educational deficiencies were in a bad position when they had no precise data to back up their complaints.[74]

West Indian parents in the Redbridge area of London faced up to the lack of data problem in 1977 when they confronted the local education authority with the charge that their children were falling behind in school and that part of the problem might well be racist attitudes among the white teachers. In the face of "fierce reluctance" to admit the problem on the part of the LEA authorities the parents mounted a study[75] of the problem and collected evidence of the low achievement of West Indians (not one West Indian in the high school passed the "A level" examinations though 10% of the enrollment was West Indian). They found enough evidence of possible racism in some white teachers to call for a further study of this problem. The report also voiced a fear that racism in England might grow as the economic situation forced British industry to cut back which, in turn, would speed up the process of inner city decay.

Fears of growing racism had lead to the passage of the Race Relations Act of 1976 which, among other things, merged the old Community Relations Council and the Race Relations Board into a new Commission for Racial Equality. The education of minorities, however, was not the focus of attention in England in 1977. In fact, the series of national conferences on educational issues scheduled by the national government in 1977, which came to be called the "Great Debate", did not include the issue of education of minorities at first. In the spring of 1977 at a conference sponsored by the Community Relations Commission black educators protested that the "Great Debate" was largely ignoring the issue of education for a multi-racial society. They urged that more attention be given to (a) career opportunities for black teachers, (b) research on ethnic minorities, (c) adapting the curriculum to the needs of blacks (d) teacher training.[76] In 1977 the national government issued the *Green Paper* which said that the Department of Education and Science would encourage more people from "ethnic minorities" to enter teaching.[77]

In September 1977 the educational provisions of the Race Relations Act of 1976 came into effect. The summer of 1977 was described by the *Times Educational Supplement* as a time when "...race relations here can seldom have been so bitter, explosive and bedeviled by official uncertainties."[78] One of the problems was the growing assertiveness of a right wing, Nazi-type political organization called the National Front. The National Front had alarmed a number of people by beginning to hold rallies in some of the schools and by offering to provide speakers for school assemblies.

In December 1977 the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) established a committee (a "working party") to investigate "anti-racialist" activities. According to the deputy chairman of the CRE teachers were not trained to combat racism and some teachers were not aware of the racism in schools. He also suggested that a look at the curriculum in terms of racism was long overdue.[79]

In December 1977 the DES sent a questionnaire to all of the LEA's as part of a national review of curriculum. The questionnaire had a new item which was added in a revision of the questionnaire in late 1977. The item asked LEA's what they were doing to promote racial understanding.[80] The fact that the item was added almost as an afterthought may be another sign that

racism and prejudice in schools was not the focus of attention in the 1970's, or the 1960's either.

The National Front and its activities did arouse considerable attention and in 1977 the Trades Union Congress (TUC) began a campaign to prevent the National Front from using England's schools. The TUC asked Mrs. Williams, head of the DES, to advise LEA's to not allow National Front material to be circulated in schools.[81]

The National Union of Teachers (NUT) in 1978 joined with the National Union of Students in asking teachers and students to report racist activities to the school authorities, and to the NUT. It recommended that racist materials found in school be confiscated by the teacher and given to the head of the department in the school.[82] The NUT also urged NUT local branches to draw up a code of practice in regard to use of school buildings by extremist racist groups.[83]

The NUT, however, in the spring of 1978 was blamed for suppression of a report prepared for a Schools Council project on "Education for a Multi-racial Society." Critics of the report claimed that it was propaganda and exaggerated the amount of racism in schools and in society. The NUT denied that it unduly influenced the Programme Committee of the Schools Council, which rejected the report.[84]

The NUT was also accused of dragging its feet on cooperating with the Commission for Racial Equality's survey of racism in schools. The NUT reportedly wanted the scope of the inquiry narrowly defined to the activities of the National Front rather than a general look at racism in teachers, school curriculum and so on.[85]

At the end of April 1978 the national government issued a report (white paper) which specified that a national survey was to be made of the school performance of West Indian children and other minorities and the preparatiou of all children for a multiracial society. The paper also called for resumption of the collection of racial statistics.

Clifton Robinson, deputy chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, indicated in reaction to the white paper that he hoped the racial statistics collected were used. He also noted that

the inquiry called for was 10 or 15 years overdue. He also criti- cized the national government for not setting up a new national government fund to help minority education rather than its conti- nued reliance on Section 11 money from the 1966 Local Govern- ment Act.[86]

Section 11 provided money to LEA's which applied. Many LEA's reportedly seemed not to know about the 1966 law or did not seek as much money as they might have. Critics charged that the money often did not go for immigrant children but rather was used to hire more teachers to lower the teacher-pupil ratio in all classrooms, not just those with immigrant children.[87]

Allen Little in his inaugural address as Professor of Social Administration at Goldsmiths' College in London criticized the national government for relying on Section 11 funds to solve multi- racial problems because it encourages partial solutions. He stressed the need of a national policy "responsive to the needs of a multi- racial society and designed to achieve equality of conditions and opportunities between different racial and ethnic groups."[88] He called for joint venture, multi-racial projects which would involve the DES, LEA's and institutions of higher education.[89]

Some multi-racial projects were already underway in 1978 as recognition of the educational problems of minority children grew. Some of the efforts were directed against racism, others toward the building of a pluralistic, multi-racial society and still others, such as the move by Hindus and Moslems to build separate schools, were attempts to preserve cultural identity.

At Hackney Downs, "a showpiece school as far as multi- cultural education is concerned", black history is taught but accor- ding to one critic "it is not taught seriously, or at all, in most other London schools, despite the ILEA [Inner London Education Authority] policy of multiculturalism."[90] Tulse Hill Comprehen- sive School in South London offered a multi-cultural course in 1978 that dealt with several cultures including those of Africa, the North American Indians and the Maoris; it also included a unit on the history of blacks in England.[91]

Typically courses which try to depict other cultures run into the problem of shortage of materials or bias in existing materials. In 1978 the head of the DES noted that textbooks in England still

reflected the era of imperialism and it was time now to recognize that England was a multi-racial society.[92] Meanwhile the Commission for Racial Equality made available free leaflets which gave bibliographies on such subjects as "Teaching about Islam" and "Teaching about Africa".

A major problem was the lack of black teachers and the fact that those blacks who were in teaching found promotions to be slow, though in the late 70's a few "coloured" head teachers and deputy heads had been hired. The Inner London Education Authority said, in 1978, that "we desperately need more minority group teachers in our schools to provide genuinely multi-ethnic education in a multi-ethnic society."[93]

The fact that West Indians enrollments in colleges and universities were low proportionate to their numbers in the total population made it unlikely that enough minority teachers would be available to meet the need. In the fall 1978 in two London colleges a one-year preparatory course was started for minority students not fully qualified to enter teacher education. The reaction of the National Union of Teachers was that it was important not to lower standards but getting more minority teachers, if they were up to standard, was a move in the right direction.[94]

Meanwhile for regular students in training to be teachers the University of London's Institute of Education in the fall of 1978 began to require all students to take courses to prepare for work in multi-racial classrooms.

The National Union of Teachers in 1978 had five projects underway on "multi-ethnic" education; these included (1) designing a new course for the 11-14 age group on "Britain : a Multi-ethnic Society," (2) examining current teaching methods in multi-ethnic education and identifying good practice, (3) examining "mother tongue" teaching and research on bilingual education, (4) examining the teaching of English as a second language for the 5-7 age group, (5) examining the teaching of English as a second language for the 11-14 age group.[95] These projects originally were to be co-sponsored by the National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME) but a disagreement over who would sponsor the final report and its content caused NAME to withdraw. NAME declared its belief that it should "play an active role in making the changes required in the education system which will further the development of a just multi-racial society."[96]

NAME favored grassroots work by minority group organizations and there has been some activity of that sort, though Eng and lacks anything like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the United States.

Asian and West Indian teachers did organize into the Association of Teachers of Ethnic Minorities; its immediate goal was to secure better use of Section 11 funds which were supposed to be used for the education of immigrants.

The ethnic minority groups in England do publish their own journals, like the *West Indian World*, and have set up their own bookstores and centers in such places as London, Birmingham, Manchester and Bradford. Sometimes the centers sponsor schools on Saturdays or in the summer to help pupils who are doing poorly in school with such basics as reading and arithmetic, and they sometimes offer tutoring to students hoping to secure admission to further education courses. Often the centers receive financial help from the local community relations council, which, in turn, gets funds both from the national government and the local government.

Some of the centers have developed reputations as being militant and troublesome, such as the one in Birmingham called Harambee: the city government on several occasions has cut off the funding of the center. The educational work of Harambee includes courses during the holidays in black studies where children are taught about their origins, slavery, the oppression of blacks in Western societies and the status of black people in Britain. The center has been criticized for being anti-white and for being open only to blacks. The Race Relations Board ruled that it had to open its doors to whites also.[97]

Some Asians have turned to separation as a way to cope with discrimination in England. Both Muslim and Hindu groups in England in the late 1970's indicated interest in setting up secondary schools for Indians or Pakistani. In addition, some of the regular county schools were headed in the direction of becoming Asian only in enrollment. In the Spitalfield area of East London the Robert Montefiore Secondary School was over 60% Bengali at the end of the 1970's and predictions were that it might become 100% minority as Bengalis were flocking to housing nearby. A spokesman for the Commission for Racial Equality said that an all-Bengali school would be acceptable provided that no racial discri-

mination was involved in creating such a school.[98] The CRC in 1978 dropped its legal proceedings against the London Borough of Ealing after Ealing agreed to stop busing Asian students out of an Asian neighborhood. Ealing had followed a policy of not allowing a school to have more than 40% Asian enrollment.[99]

For most people in England the decision against busing is a hopeful sign since busing was not asked for originally by minority groups, unlike the United States where civil rights groups and minority groups pressed for busing to achieve more racial mixing.

As the 70's ended people in England spoke often of England being a multi-racial society but the existence of prejudice and "low level of understanding of ethnic minorities" was also acknowledged.[100] Nor was there much evidence that the education of minorities was being given top priority. It may be significant that the 1979 edition of Edmund King's, *Other Schools and Ours* devotes less than the equivalent of a page to the education of minorities in his long chapter on education in Great Britain.[101] Equally troubling is the phenomenon of "disruptive" units set up by schools to handle unruly children; the number of blacks assigned to these units is disproportionately high.[102] One is reminded of the assigning of blacks to ESN schools in disproportionately high numbers which Coard and others complained about at the beginning of the 1970's.

The worsening economic situation in England was not helpful either. As LEA's cut back their expenditures for schools and dismissed some teachers there was concern among minority group that the number of teachers assigned to work with minority children would be reduced. Indicative of things to come was the decision of the national government in 1979 to cease to fund the Centre for Educational Disadvantage in Manchester. The head of the DES announced that the government would continue to work on problems of the disadvantaged via the unit for the disadvantaged in the Department of Education and Science.[103]

Expenditure cuts whether forced on LEA's by the national government or decided upon by budget makers at the local level threatened to undercut local efforts to combat what some in England call "racial disadvantage." The Association of Metropolitan Authorities called attention to the problem in 1980.

Local government's role is becoming more problematic because of the reduction in financial resources which creates a climate in which a policy of positive discrimination becomes simultaneously more necessary but more difficult to pursue.[104]

Soon after the election of Conservative Party Margaret Thatcher as prime minister it was announced that immigration of blacks would be cut back further. Some members of the Conservative Party reportedly wanted to stop non-white immigration completely. At the Conservative Party's annual convention in October 1979 there was great interest in further restricting immigration and much talk of England's culture being altered.[105]

The Commission for Racial Equality continued its work in defence of minorities. In the spring of 1980 it announced an inquiry into the suspension of black children from Birmingham schools in "unusually high number." This came shortly after a Birmingham teacher accused of racist remarks ("nig noy, sambo") toward a black child was acquitted by the courts. The CRE has supported the black parent pressing the charges.[106] The CRE in March 1980 issued a report called, *The Fire Next Time* in which it called for a comprehensive youth policy to cope with the problems of black youth and asked LEA's to issue clear guidelines to schools on how to cope with racism.[107]

In 1980 the national government again backed away from the collecting of social or ethnic statistics, which some groups in England think are needed data to formulate policy. The national government decided not to include questions on ethnic or racial background, immigrant status and so on in the 1981 census. The government claimed that a trial run of the census in Haringey in April 1979 which had included ethnic and racial questions aroused controversy. Reportedly only 14% of the West Indians and 34% of the Asians answered the ethnic questions correctly.

Race and ethnic organizations expressed opposition to the national government's decision. The CRE said that not collecting racial and ethnic statistics continued the situation where a shortage of data makes it difficult to formulate government policy and might encourage LEA's to use the lack of statistics as an excuse not to monitor the needs of its ethnic minorities.[108]

The Runnymeade Trust, an education philanthrophy group, criticized the decision to omit questions on race in the census as

hindering the work of those trying to build more equality of opp-
ortunity since data on ethnic background was vital "if disadvantage
and discrimination are to be combated and positive policies
developed to help ethnic minorities."[109] The head of the Society
of Immigrant Teachers spoke out also in favour of collecting
ethnic data to have the necessary information to help build a truly
multi-cultural society.[110]

In 1981 the chairman of the Rampton Committee was re-
placed, reportedly because of lack of administrative skill in run-
ning the committee and in getting the committee's report out in
manageable form. Meanwhile the Rampton Committee continued
its study of the educational problems of minorities. The interim
report of the Rampton Committee identified a number of causes
of the low educational performance of West Indian children in
Britain including racism, "both intentional and unintentional".
The failure of teachers education to properiy prepare teachers for
a multi-cultural society was noted several times in the report.[111]
Bullivant in 1981 saw race rather than differences in cultures as the
root of much of the problems of immigrants and their children in
Britain.[112]

The issue of minorities will not go away. Racial disturbances
in the Brixton area of London in 1981 reminded the government
and people generally that areas with high immigrant (black) popu-
lation suffer from high rates of youth unemployment, deficient
educational facilities and a general lack of adequate social services.
An editorial in the *Times Educational Supplement* in April,
1981 called for national government action to strengthen education
and other social services in the so-called "immigrant areas and
warned that a "law and order" campaign to crack down on black
demonstrators would not solve the problem.[113] The National
Association for Multi-Racial Education (NAME) also urged the
police to abandon special patrols in inner city areas. NAME
called on the nation to provide more resources to promote policies
of equal opportunity.[114] In the summer of 1981 several cities
of England, including London, Manchester and Liverpool were
swept by urbon riots involving destruction of buildings and attacks
on police by black and white youths. The response of high-level
government officials was to focus on the attacks on policemen as a
sign of a general weakening of respect for authority. While seve-

ral of the incidents were not strictly racial there was no doubt that racism and perceived lack of opportunity for blacks was one of the basic factors. No longer would England be able to pretend that inequality had nothing to do with race or color.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sheila Allen, *New Minorities, Old Conflicts*. New York: Random House, 1971, p. 125 as cited in Lewis M. Killian. "School Busing in Britain." *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2, May 1979, p. 187.

2. *Children and Their Primary Schools* ("Plowden Report"). London: HMSO, 1967, p. 70.

3. Adam Hopkins, *The School Debate*. London: Penguin, 1978, p. 200.

4. Ronald King, *Education*. Second edition. London: Longman, 1977, p. 137.

5. *Ibid.*

6. David Milner, *Children and Race*. London: Penguin, 1975, pp. 101-139.

7. Sheila Patterson, *Immigration and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 1.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

9. *Higher Education* ("Robbins Report"). London: HMSO, 1963. This omission was noted by Richard Willey, "Teacher Training for a Multi-Cultural Society." *International Review of Education*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, 1975, p. 338.

10. Central Advisory Council for Education (England). *Half Our Future*. London: HMSO, 1963, para. 55, 71, 79, 163.

11. *Children and the Primary Schools, op. cit*, pp. 69-73. This small coverage was noted by Ivor Morrish, *The Background of Immigrant Children*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1971, p. 235.

12. E. J. B. Rose, et. al., *Colour and Citizenship : A Report on British Race Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 264.

13. The school enrollment in England in 1978 was 5% black (i. e. New Commonwealth origin)—*Times Educational Supplement* (London), July 14, 1978.

14. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

15. Lewis M. Killian, "School Busing in Britain." *Harvard Education Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2, May 1979, p. 188-189.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

17. David L Kirp. *Doing Good By Doing Little.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

18. E.J.B. Rose, et. al., *op. cit.*

19. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), September 19, 1975, p. 15.

20. Ronald King, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

21. Department of Education and Science. *The Education of Immigrants*, Education Survey 13. London: HMSO, 1972, p. 18.

22. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

23. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

24. Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 261. The example cited was in the Sparkhill area of Birmingham.

25. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 370, 401.

26. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), September 19, 1975, p. 14.

27. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), November 14, 1975, p. 7.

28. Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

29. David L. Kirp, *Doing Good By Doing Little.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1979, pp. 79-80.

30. Killian, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-187.

31. Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-271.

32. *Children and Their Primary Schools*, op. cit., p. 70.

33. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

34. *Children and Their Primary Schools*, *op. cit.*, para. 188 and 189 (p. 71).

35. William W. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England.* Baltimore, Maryland. Penguin Books, 1968, p. 14.

36. Dilop Hiro, *Black British, White British*, revised edition. London: Penguin, 1973, p. 313.

37. Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

38.   *Ibid.*, p. 13.

39.   D. Beetham. *Immigrant School Leavers and Youth Employment in Birmingham* (1968), pp. 11-12 as quoted in Hiro, op. cit., p. 72.

40.   Rose, et. al., op. cit., p. 756, 701.

41.   *Ibid.*, p. 703.

42.   *Ibid.*, p. 346.

43.   Bernard Coard.   *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System.*   London: New Beacon Books, 1971, p. 137.

44   *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

45.   Department of Education and Science.   *The Education of Immigrants*, Education Survey 13.   London: HMSO, 1972.

46.   Ivor Morrish, *The Background of Immigrant Children.* Edison, New Jersey: Allen and Unwin, 1971, p. 242.

47.   *Ibid.*

48.   Francine Taylor, *Race Schools and Community: a Study of Research and Literature on Education in Multi-racial Britain.* London: National Foundation for Educational Research, 1974, p. 40.

49.   Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. *Education Report*, Vol. 1, London:HMSO, 1973 as cited in Richard Willey, "Teacher Training for a Multi-Cultural Society." *International Review of Education*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, 1975, p. 338.

50.   Morrish, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

51.   As reported in *Times Educational Supplement* (London), July 27, 1973, p. 7.

52.   *Times Educational Supplement* (London), July 13, 1973, p. 7.

53.   *Ibid.*

54.   *Times Educational Supplement*, (London), September 14, 197', p. 10.

55.   *Ibid.*

56.   As cited in *Times Educational Supplement* (London), June 8, 1973, p. 6.

57.   *Times Educational Supplement* (London), June 22, 1973, p. 7.

58. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), April 6, 1973, p. 12.

59. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), May 25, 1973, p. 13.

60. As cited in Raymond Giles, *The West Indian Experience in British Schools: Multi-Racial Education and Social Disadvantage in London.* London: Heinemann Educational, 1977, p. 72.

61. Richard Willey. "Teacher Training for a Multi-Cultural Society." *International Review of Education,* Vol. XXI, No. 3, 1975, p. 338.

62. Milner, *op. cit.,* p. 202.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.,* p. 203.

65. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), September 15, 1975, p. 15.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.,* December 19, 1975, p. 7.

68. *Ibid.,* January 30, 1976, p. 3.

69. *Ibid.,* April 23, 1976, p. 6.

70. As summarized in *Times Educational Supplement* (London), March 5, 1976, p. 6.

71. *Ibid.,* February 18, 1977, p. 4.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.,* April 8, 1977, p. 6.

74. *Ibid.,* November 4, 1977, p. 24.

75. The report was published under the title, *Cause for Concern: West Indian Pupils in Redbridge.* Ilford, Essex: Black People's Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council, April 1978.

76. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), March 25, 1977, p. 11.

77. *Education in Schools:* A Consultative Document ("Green Paper"). London: HMSO, July 1977, p. 22.

78. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), August 19, 1977, p. 1.

79.   *Ibid.*, December 2, 1977, p. 3.

80.   *Ibid.*

81.   *Ibid.*, November 25, 1977, p. 1.

82.   *Ibid.*, November 3, 1978, p. 6.

83.   *Ibid.*, January 13, 1978, p. 3.

84.   *Ibid.*, March 10, 1978, p. 18.

85.   *Ibid.*, July 21, 1978, p. 2.

86.   *Ibid.*, May 5, 1978, p. 4.

87.   *Ibid.*, April 21, 1978, p. 3.

88.   Allen N. Little, *Educational Policies for Multi-Racial Areas.* London: Goldsmith's College, 1978, p. 8.

89.   *Ibid.*, p. 8.

90.   *Times Educational Supplement* (London), November 30, 1979, p. 29.

91.   *Ibid.*, February 24, 1978, pp. 24-25.

92.   *Ibid.*, July 21, 1978, p. 5.

93.   *Ibid.*, June 2, 1978, p. 3.

94.   *Ibid.*

95.   *Ibid.*, November 10, 1978, p. 93.

96.   *Ibid.*, November 24, 1978, p. 19.

97.   *Ibid.*, February 24, 1978, p. 7.

98.   *Ibid.*, June 9, 1978, p. 4.

99.   *Ibid.*, June 2, 1978, p. 3.

100.   *Ibid.*, December 14, 1979, p. 20—see article by Alan Little.

101.   Edmund King. *Other Schools and Ours*, fifth edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979, pp. 204-205.

102.   *Times Educational Supplement* (London), June 27, 1980, p. 19.

103.   *Ibid.*, November 23, 1979, p. 8.

104.   *Ibid.*, September 5, 1980, p. 10.

105.   As reported in *Washington Post*, October 12, 1979, p. A12.

106.   *Times Educational Supplement*, (London), March 21, 1980, p. 3.

107.   *Ibid.*, p. 6.

108.   *Ibid.*, March 28, 1980, p. 12.

109.   *Ibid.*

110.   *Ibid.*

111.   *West Indian Children In Our Schools*: Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. London: HMSO, Cmnd 8273, June 1981, pp. 60-62, 64, 71-72, 82-83.

112.   Brian Bullivant. *The Pluralistic Dilemma in Education*: *Six Case Studies* Sidney: George Allen and Unwin, 1981, pp. 15-42.

113.   *Times Educational Supplement*, April 17, 1981, p. 2.

114.   *Ibid.*, May 8, 1981, p. 13.

The Concept of Citizenship And Political Education: U.K. And U.S.A.

SUSANNE M. SHAFER.

Citizenship education is critical to society. Whether defined in terms of political activity, or more broadly in terms of living the "good", the moral life, citizenship must be a central concern of the schools—the formal educational agent—of a democratic society.[1]

In order to socialize the young into the political culture, some kind of informal or formal educational procedure is necessary, especially in Western style democracies which rely on citizen judgment, participation in policy-formation, and criticism. Recent research on political socialization has pointed to the influence of the family, the media, and the school on children's assimilation of the political culture of their country. Other data, especially at election time, repeatedly reveals large gaps in the public's knowledge of political issues, of the records of political leaders, and of the structure of government. In England and the United States educators and others have sought to reduce the knowledge gap through adjustments in school curricula. While civic education, or political education, has long been a formal part of the schools' curriculum in America, British schools have only recently considered the inclusion of political education in secondary schooling. In attempting to do so, serious disagreements have arisen which

contrast quite sharply with the popular acceptance of the same subject in the United States.

Why then is political education viewed so differently in these two staunch defenders of democracy? An explanation lies in the meaning attached to citizenship and the implementation of the concept in the schools.

E PLURIBUS UNUM:
CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

The American interpretation of citizenship implies loyalty to the country, some outward display of patriotism when that is being called for, support of the principles of democracy, participation in that democracy, at least as an informed voter and a law-abiding person, familiarity with the United States Constitution and with the history of the country, and a belief in equality before the law, the stipulations of the First Amendment, and the right to property

The democratic society is assumed to depend on "...citizens who make rational decisions consistent with basic democratic values and...in a context of rapid social change, a change in which the citizen participates and which he also directs."[2] Similarly a 1979 Revision of the NCSS (National Council for the Social Studies) Social Studies Curriculum Guideliness states that "...the basic goal of social studies education is to prepare young people to be humane, rational, participating citizens in a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent."[3] The worthy citizen is here given a moral dimension, *i. e.* commitment to foster human dignity, which is based on the rights and responsibilities ascribed to American citizenship.

The concept of citizenship has also been expressed in terms of behavioral competencies. Remy lists seven which he believes permit an individual to assume the rights, to discharge the responsibilities, and to perform the tasks associated with governing the various groups to which a person belongs.[4]

1. Acquiring and using information about political situations.

2. Assessing one's involvement and stake in political situations, issues, decisions, and policies.

3. Making thoughtful decisions regarding group governance and problems of citizenship.

4. Making judgments about people, institutions, policies, and decisions on the basis of standards of justice, ethics, morality and practicality.

5. Communicating ideas to other citizens, decision makers, leaders, and officials.

6. Cooperating with others in work groups and in organisations to achieve mutual goals.

7. Working with bureaucratically organized institutions in order to promote and protect one's interests and values.[5]

The National Assessment of Educational Progress, which periodically samples achievement in a number of curriculum areas in schools across the United States, in 1975-76 assessed six objectives of citizenship education, namely, "(1) concern for the well-being and dignity of others, (2) support of just law and the rights of individuals, (3) knowledge of the main structure and function of government, (4) participation in democratic civic improvement, (5) understanding of important world, national and local civic problems, and (6) approaching civic decisions rationally."[6] In a recent review of research findings on political education, Ehman drew implications for citizenship. He assumed "...that it is desirable in citizenship education to promote higher political knowledge, interests, trust, tolerance of dissent, confidence, intellectual skills, participation skills and activity in students."[7]

Besides assuming the rights and responsibilities of the citizen and displaying social and civic competence, the good citizen in the popular mind is also an employed citizen, housewives, the old, and children being excepted. He or she is supposed to avail himself or herself of the upward mobility characteristic of an open society. In economic terms one is to believe that the Puritan principles of hard work and thrift bring their own rewards. Indolence and self-indulgence are scorned. Financial success in the marketplace or increasing responsibilities at work are applauded as being associated with the good American. In political terms upward mobility is seen as the reality that everyone may try to gain political office and that in elections the best man (!) wins. Socially, an aversive quality is assigned to discrimination and prejudice though covert attitudes may differ. Where citizens demonstrate their belief in equality, upward mobility can be sought by every citizen.

One of the dimensions of American citizenship has been command of the English language. In the past the unequivocal answer to the question, must the citizen have a command of English ? was 'yes!' Today the reply has been tempered to the degree that an individual with limited English but possessing the other qualifications, may still be accepted as a worthy citizen. What every citizen must be willing to do is to enunciate the Pledge of Allegiance. (Some religious groups have been exempted by court decision.)

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Recent youthful immigrants from Cuba have already been taught this patriotic ritual in the Miami schools.[8]

HISTORY OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN THE U.S.A.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

Civic education has a long history in the United States. One may go back to Thomas Jefferson's belief in the dependence of representative government upon popular enlightenment. He voiced this conviction in a letter to George Washington (1786)

It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that too of the people with a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the state to effect, and on a general plan.[9]

Jefferson reiterated these recommendations when he outlined the objectives of primary education in connection with the founding of the University of Virginia. Besides literacy, he would include the goal of providing every citizen with an understanding of his duties to his neighbors and country and a knowledge of "... his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment."[10] Among his recommendations for the curriculum of the network of primary schools he urged upon his native Virginia was that American history be taught.

Noah Webster, the originator of America's best known dictionary, too believed that a republican government needed " ..

a system of education as gives every citizen an opportunity of acquiring knowledge and fitting himself for places of trust."[11] He elaborated in *The American Magazine* in 1787.

> Every child in America should be acquainted with his own country. He should read books that furnish him with ideas that will be useful to him in life and practice. As soon as he opens his lips he should rehearse the history of his own country—he should lisp the praises of liberty and of those illustrious heroes and statesmen who have wrought a revolution in his favor.

> A selection of essays respecting the settlement and geography of America—the history of the late revolution and of the most remarkable characters and events that distinguished it—and a compendium of the principles of the federal and provincial governments should be the principal schoolbook in the United States.[12]

Horace Mann in his Twelfth Annual Report on education written in 1848 also urged that the growth of the American Republic and the United States Constitution and the structure of government be studied in schools. Also, "in a government where the people are the acknowledged sources of power, the duty of changing law and rulers by an appeal to the ballot, and not by rebellion, should be taught to all the children until they are fully understood."[3] Mann warned "...that the establishment of a republican government, without well-appointed and efficient means for universal education of the people, is the most rash and fool-hardy experiment ever tried by man."[14]

AMERICANIZATION.

While in the early years of the republic the acceptance of the new government and its constitution was a paramount educational need in the minds of many, civic education received its charge from a different direction after the Civil War. Facts about the United States and state constitutions were taught in history, geography or reading courses in order to ensure civil obedience, patriotism, industry, and virtue. The link between citizenship and morality was readily accepted.[15]

As the 19th century drew to a close, what now mattered was the Americanization of the swarms of immigrants that flooded

America's shores. Between 1890 and 1910 alone, more than 8 million came from Eastern and Southern Europe.[16] They were unfamiliar not only with English but also with representative government. They huddled together in ethnic enclaves in the country's industrial cities. Schools in these cities had to cope with a continuous influx of children of diverse ethnic origins and no knowledge of English. Brown described how in 1899 an emigrant ship unloaded 1,100 Italians at a New Orleans wharf one day and a few days later 250 children from that ship, unable to speak English, were admitted into the nearest public school.[17] For these and other children of immigrants schools were asked to provide English and also civic and moral education.[18] For elementary school students United States history became a subject of study because it was thought to convey the relationship of the individual to the larger society and its established rules.[19] At the secondary level by 1900, 45 per cent of the schools taught United States history, the *sine qua non* for developing citizens.[20]

As school attendance at the turn of the century increased in length, a number of national commissions led by prominent educators outlined what ought to be included in the elementary and the secondary curriculum. Civic education never was absent from any list drawn up. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, which met between 1913 and 1918, in its final report listed 'Seven Cardinal Principles' as the objectives of secondary education. One of these was civic education.[21]

> Each young person ought to be able to function well as a member of the neighborhood, town, city, state, or nation, and he ought to have the basis for understanding international problems. It was essential, if he were to emerge as such a citizen, that he have many-sided interests, loyalty to ideals of righteousness, a practical knowledge of social agencies and institutions, good judgment, and habits of cooperation in social undertakings. Social studies, civics, and English could contribute to the development of these attributes.[22]

A subcommittee on the Social Studies pointed to the vital role of American history.

> Through history the student should acquire a brilliant picture of American nationality; a deep, abiding, and informed patriotism; and a clear understanding of the obligation of

every citizen to promote the general efficiency of the United States. Only a citizen so equipped could perform his function as a member of one of the family of nations.[25]

MATURATION OF THE CONCEPT.

Again, one finds both civic and moral virtues emphasized. They are once again linked in later documents on social studies education which were generated during the Great Depression. It Its human devastation raised a series of questions about the American political process and economic institutions. The response of the schools to social change was also scrutinized. Leading educators placed their faith in Progressive Education as an effective means to prepare youth to participate in the working out of democratic solutions to America's and the world's economic plight. Civic education and the social studies curriculum would be particularly instrumental in priming youth to move in that direction.

Civic education formed the focus of several inquiries, one by the American Historical Association (1929-33), a second by the Regents of the State of New York (1935-38), and a third by the Progressive Education Association (1932-38). In *A Charter for the Social Sciences in Schools* the historian Charles A. Beard wrote for the American Historical Association's Commission on the Social Studies in Schools that the fundamental purpose of civic education "...is the creation of rich, many-sided personalities, equipped with practical knowledge and inspired by ideals so that they can make their way and fulfill their mission in a changing society which is a part of a world complex."[24] Ideal citizens would have a deep loyalty toward America, "...an appreciation of its achievements, and faith in its power, [which] are indispensible to defense against attacks from without and to the promotion of the good life within."[25] "Nationalism should be infused with enlightenment, reason, and tolerance."[26] Since a scientific analysis should be applied to social inquiry, schools should aid young citizens to acquire knowledge and to weigh information.

The New York State Regents' Inquiry, summarized in a volume entitled *Education for Citizenship*, echoed a similar concern. Civic competence in America's democratic society, according to the study, implied the "...ability on the part of pupils to enter into obligations of membership in a complex and dynamic group,

both in its political and broadly social aspects."[27] Through the social studies curriculum, *i.e.* history, geography, and the behavioral sciences, students' social competence should be enhanced to enable them to link thought and action in civic affairs and to identify social deficiencies and their possible remedies.

During these same years a third report dealing with social studies and civic education appeared, this one issued by the Progressive Education Association. Its declared assumptions included that a democratic education should be (1) directed toward enabling the individual to participate effectively in society[28] and (2) kept flexible in order to meet the changing needs of individuals and the changing demands of the social order.[29]

> ...Since democracy rests ultimately upon the intelligence of the common man, the student must himself be given increasing responsibility for reconstructing his own beliefs, attitudes, and plans of action through the exercise of his own maturing intelligence.[30]

Like the other two, this report stressed that social studies education in a democracy meant preparation for change, for active citizenship, and for individual decision making. Subsequent educational inquiries such as *Education for All American Youth*[31] in 1944 never changed these goals of civic education.[32]

APPLICATION.

In the schools a variety of instructional strategies continued to be advocated. These ranged from virtually pure political indoctrination for American democracy and against totalitarianism to unstructured inquiries to seek solutions to contemporary social, economic, or political controversies. For the most part social studies teachers responsible for civic education, or political education, used informal, more or less critical lecture-discussion techniques as they wound their way through required American history or American Government or civics with their classes. The socalled "New Social Studies" or curriculum innovations of the 1960's had only a temporary, somewhat scattered impact.[33] Teachers continued to inculcate the ideals of democratic citizenship by relating to their students the story of America and by describing the structures of government. In that process they have clothed the ideals, American history, and the United States Constitution with a good deal of veneration, at the expense of

having students engage in questioning the decisions of American presidents, recognizing hypocritical deprivations of the civil rights of some groups or individuals when these rights supposedly are assured for all citizens, or ferreting out the several points of view on a public controversy like free abortions for the poor or our China policy.

What must be said in favor of social studies teachers and civic education in the United States is that a common curriculum has been offered to all students. Every child in the elementary school begins to learn about America and its ideals; every junior high stud nt in virtually every state spends a year on American history and additional time on civics; and every high school youth receives political preparation for citizenship in the compulsory American history and American Government classes.[34] Some years ago Conant in a critical review of *The American High School Today* urged that ability grouping never be applied to that 12th grade course in American Government. High school seniors needed to develop mutual respect for one another. "Free discussions of controversial issues should be encouraged."[35] The aim should be the development of intelligent voter-citizens who would " .. stand firm under trying national conditions and not be beguiled by the oratory of those who appeal to special interests."[36]

That the concept of citizenship has been conveyed in schools to all students alike found its verification in the American civil rights movement. Blacks had learnt how to make their voices heard before the public as they sought the civil rights which were justly theirs.

While political education continues to be subjected to criticism, experimentation, and alteration, the concept of citizenship retains its comprehensiveness in applying to all, its moral dimensions in guiding individual actions, its cognitive aspects in delineating what knowledge is expected, and its emotive facet in being associated with love of country and patriotism. Curriculum developers and teachers encounter no lack of direction as to the goals of political education in the United States.

PROUD TO BE BRITISH :
CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP.

That the concept of citizenship embodied in civic or political education in American schools has no parallel in British education should surprise no one who reflects for only a moment upon the

history of each nation. The American perception of citizenship is derived from an amalgam of the lasting documents written by the Founding Fathers, from the need to consolidate the loyalty of the colonists after the Revolution, the settlers on the Western frontier, the North and South after the Civil War, reactionaries as well as radicals, and, more recently, Black and whites and also Viet Nam era 'doves' and 'hawks', from the belief that immigrants must be politically and economically assimilated, and from the impact of the Progressive Education movement and liberalism on the formulation of social studies education.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

British political history differs markedly. For long periods of time feudad lords shared political leadership with the monarchy. As Parliament asserted more power, it also drew in a broader spectrum of British society, namely the landed gentry and merchant class. For these participation in government was the accepted obligation of a gentleman. He, in turn, was to show responsibility in political decisions toward those dependent on him, be they his tenants or farm workers or his factory hands or clerks. Only in the last century have these lower strata of British society had their own representatives in Parliament.

While the monarchy remains a symbol of national unity, the Queen's privileged economic and social position differentiates her from the ordinary person in Britain. In the opinion of many, she is indeed a model person, but law and tradition today prevent the monarch from playing the role of the citizen who seeks directly or through others to participate in political decision making. What the monarch and Britain's upper classes have shared through the years is their acceptance of the duty to be of service to the nation. John F. Kennedy in his Inaugural Address in 1961 reminded Americans of that same obligation. On that occasion he said; "Ask not what your country can do for you,-ask what you can do for your country."[37]

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.

Social stratification in England has been accompanied by *noblesse oblige* but also by social privilege.[38] This fact has driven a wedge between Conservatives and Labour, military officers and sailors or Tommies, and the middle and upper classes and the working class. The degree of polarization of any of these rests

with individuals perceptions of English men and women. That social class remains a potentially divisive force is demonstrated in the political and economic arena even today, for instance, during labor-management disputes. To counter that dissention, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, in her current efforts to right the British economy has enveighed the public to be proud to be British, and British Airways, until now a public corporation, uses the slogan 'Fly the Flag !' to attract British customers.

Social divisions in Britain have been aggravated by the influx of East Asians, West Indians, and Africans over the past decades. These immigrants have proven difficult to assimilate. Racial prejudice and ethnocentrism nurtured during Britain's rule of her colonial empire, together with the lack of any formal tradition of how to absorb newcomers, have stood in the way. In contrast, the English language has been unequivocallya ccepted by immigrants as the *lingua franca* which all must learn, albeit as a second language and without a received standard pronunciation, the mark of upper class membership in England.

To the many immigrants from former British colonies her parliamentary form of government is familiar and is acceptable. They recognize the protection it offers to individuals before the law and against undue impositions by other persons or governmen tal units and that they, too, in time can send their representatives to the House of Commons and the county councils.

EDUCATION.—No social institution demonstrates more vividly the social divisions which persist in Great Britain than does the educational system. That Labour when in power has sought comprehensivization of secondary schools and individual counties with Conservative majorities continue to circumvent or even reverse such mandated reorganization testifies to the importance placed by many on a school system which offers upward social mobility to the capable learner. While the working class see comprehensive schools as a step toward greater equality in England and Wales, segments of the middle class fear that standards of achievement are lowered there, whether by working class or immigrant children. These parents fear that their academically less competent children as a result might not qualify for the Sixth From and therefore for higher education. To still their concern middle class parents try to send their children to independent

schools, preferably one belonging to the Headmasters' Conference, where they feel academic as well as social learning to be more carefully supervised and congruent with the implicit prerequisites for social status retention or upward mobility.

Studies of elite formation in Great Britain verify the importance of independent schools and of the prestige of Oxford and Cambridge, two universities attended primarily by public school boys and girls and the most able state grammar school graduates. The vast majority of the present Tory leadership in Parliament are either public school graduates or have an Oxbridge degree or both.[39] At least three-fourths of high court judges, Anglican church leaders, and ambassadors and about two-thirds of the undersecretaries in the civil service and directors of clearing banks in England have attended either Cambridge or Oxford University.[40]

The elite sent to boarding schools and also the great public schools of England also develop a network of close friendships which remain important throughout life. Being away from home at an early age, boys learn from one another the ethos of their class. While they may have held a certain sympathy in the past toward the working class engendered in them by their nannies who had raised them, they also viewed themselves as set apart from their peers who attended state schools.[41] Only in the 1960's did that social differentiation lose favor with teenagers as they sought to be included in the long-haired, jean-clad, rock generation that found lower class accents and manners more acceptable than those associated with the upper class.[42] Even today, however, the public schoolboy retains the advantage not only of social class but of an education geared to university preparation and to possible participation in politics beyond that.[43]

Not only does the private sector remain the most prestigious part of the British educational system, but its curriculum is identical with that of the GCE O-level and A-level classes in the state schools. In the field of civic education or political education, no course requirements exist for students 14 years and older. What is offered are options in British Constitution and Government and British history. Several O-level and A-level syllabi serve as the course guides for such classes, whether they are located in a public or a state school. In other words, in these schools GCE O-level or A-level students have no formal classes dealing with Britain's political culture or social history.

In contrast, average and below average students in comprehensive schools spend a little time each week on social and civic education before they terminate their secondary schooling. These youth today, too, have become the beneficiaris of the new interest in political education and the attendant efforts at curriculum reform.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Britain may be divided by education, politics, and socioeconomic status, but, nonetheless, her people share an island, a language, a culture, a memory, and current worries about unemployment and inflation. The last are seen as responsibilities of government whose leadership must serve the people and reflect their views. For Britons to effectively conmunicate with their political leaders at election time and during the interim implies that people are familiar with the political process and are ready to voice their views on key problems before government.

GOALS — Recent research on political socialization in England cast some doubt on Britons' political learning and political efficacy. Especially youth shows a lack of knowledge about politics and current issues.[44] A number of educators, therefore, have drawn up suggestions for political education in schools. From the goals they specify one must infer their particular perception of the political process and of the role of citizens in Britain.

One of the most comprehensive studies of political education was recently conducted by Bernard Crick and Alex Porter under the sponsorship of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government. Its main aim was to increase the political literacy of youth.

> [By political literacy] we mean the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to make a man or woman informed about politics; able to participate in public life and groups of all kinds, both occupational and voluntary; and to recognize and tolerate diversities of political and social values. A politically literate people should know what the main disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect them, and how they relate to institutions, and they will have a predisposition to be politically effective while respecting the sincerity of others.[45]

On another occasion Crick urged that political education be used to show how the country reconciles different political interests in view of limited resources, conflicting commitments, and sparcity of viable solutions to problems.[46] Political education must fight any radical disillusionment or alienation from politics by indicating clearly that political parties or individuals' programmes are statements of idealized goals.[47] Teachers must show the differences among political positions, the plausibility of different political doctrines, and the ways people seek change in view of their moral assumptions and political preconceptions. Crick adds that "the task of reestablishing a popular tradition of political discourse both critical and aspirant must begin in the schools and with teachers."[48]

Carrying forward his contribution to the Hansard Society study, Alex Porter continues to pursue evidence of political education in schools. In a new study he is assessing how political attitudes, skills, concepts, and knowledge are being furthered in schools.[49] He continues to view the goal of political education to be political literacy as well as critical judgment, reflection, and a consideration of alternatives. The source material may best be drawn from current issues rather than from a predetermined course syllabus.[50]

Robert Stradling also recommends that the young learner's own experiences form the starting point of political education.[51] Its aim should be political literacy, meaning that students are helped to "......handle political information in a critical way and to......form their own opinions, to appreciate those of others, and to [gain] the will and the means to participate in an effective and responsible manner."[52] To meet the goal, teachers of political education must aid students to "......grasp what politics is all about, why it tends to arise in group activity, and the forms it can take.....Particular priority should also be given to the development of some understanding of basic political concepts since they provide the means for organizing political information into coherent frameworks .... and are transferable from one situation or problem to others."[53]

"Intellectual skills are necessary if the individual is going to reflect on his political experiences and not merely memorize or experience them subconsciously. Action and communication skills are important in so much as political literacy entails taking part in

as well as thinking about the world we live in."[54] School more than any other social institution with which children and youth come in contact is suited to foster these competencies in students.

Educators have pointed to still other goals of political education. Gardner refers to engendering in students loyalty to the political system and helping especially lower class and lower ability children to develop political efficacy.[55] Wormald proposes that students must gain "an understanding of the power allocation in a society including in groups like the family or the workplace."[56] Beck urges the systematic study of political, economic, and social concepts which lead one to comprehend the complexity of society.[57] Bridges makes a case for student participation in decision making as a valid form of political education. He holds that through such participation the person begins (1) to understand the problems which generate conflict and the political situation in which it may be resolved, (2) to master the skills that support a democratic way of life, (3) to gain autonomy, and (4) to learn to adhere to the moral culture of participatory democracy.[58] John Slater, the H.M.I. for Political Education, sees the aim of political education to help students to gain political competence, which means giving " . ...pupils knowledge and tools for informed and responsible political participation."[59] He would include the study of the machinery of government, controversial issues, and groups involved in political decisions. Concepts taught should undergird political knowledge and political understanding. Political competence in a democracy, according to Slater, must be accompanied by an attitude of toleration, a willingness to compromise, and openmindedness and a disdain for dogmatism.[60] Reason and logical thinking are requisite skills of political behavior. They must be practiced in writing and orally in connection with political education.[61]

IMPLEMENTATION IN SCHOOLS—Altogether the broad aims of political education seem to fall into three strands when translated into instructional practices. Preparation for citizenship as a goal means that students are taught the structure of government, current issues, and the virtues of a commitment to democracy. Other teachers stay within traditional subject disciplines which they utilize in an inquiry approach to government and its activities. A third version of political education consists of providing participatory experiences and related knowledge and skills that

emotionally and intellectually engage students so as to enhance their political learning and sense of political efficacy.[62]

Any survey of instructional practices in political education reveals that schools follow no set pattern. As was pointed out, students preparing for GCE's have an exposure to political learning only if they have selected examination options in British Constitution and Government, modern history, sociology, geography, or economics and then only if the teacher weaves political education into the examination syllabus. Other secondary school students may or may not have modules in their work in social education that deal with politics. Social education often is a composite of health and sex education, career education, and an introduction to the welfare state. Some teachers of religious education implicitly offer political education when they foster interracial understanding through a study of the culture of immigrants that have entered the United Kingdom. Some students have signed up for a CSE examination in 'Social Studies' where political education has been included.[63] In the history course for the 4th year developed by the Schools Council students learn about the Arab-Israeli conflict and modern China, two topics which readily offer an opportunity for political studies and civic education. Literary works, such as *Julius Caesar* or Orwell's *1984*, as well as improvised drama or simulations are used occasionally to expand political understanding, as are field trips to governmental units.[64] The variety of approaches reflect the contention which surrounds political education in England. While the theoreticians at universities, in political interest groups, and in advisory positions have delineated goals for the subject, popular acceptance lags behind. Teachers and heads of schools reflect hesitation to incorporate political education squarely into the curriculum.

ROADBLOCKS TO POLITICAL EDUCATION

The impetus for the inclusion of political education in British schools came from several directions. Foremost among the reasons were (1) the extension of compulsory education from 15 to 16 years, (2) the lowering of the voting age to 18, (3) the paucity of political knowledge of youth revealed in research studies on political socialization, (4) evidence of the seduction of some youth by militant neo-Fascist groups of the extreme Right, (5) cynicism about politics on the part of other youth, and (6) a fear of

potential radicalism coming from the increasing number of unemployed youth in England.[65]

Remediation has run into difficulties of several kinds. The term politics remains an emotionally charged word and to many, knowledge of it, therefore, aversive as a goal of political education. Few teachers have been systematically prepared in political science and related pedagogy to be in charge of the subject. The time table, or schedule, in most schools as yet leaves very little time for political education. Parents and others worry that the political biases of teachers will result in either political indoctrination or political party recruitment during classes. Some heads fear that students begin to analyze the hidden curriculum of their school as their comprehension of politics grows. They then might see it for what it is, namely a means of social control devised by the society to enculturate the young and to continue the existing power relationships extant in the society.

. There have been other roadblocks. Because of its goal of fostering unfettered opinion-formation by students, political education is found to be non-examinable, an immediate limitation if the subject is to be available to GCE students. A further difficulty is that economic literacy is not yet seen by many advocates of political education as inextricably interwoven with it. Nor has the principle of sex equity necessarily been applied to the critique of contemporary politics or to the role expectations of women in regard to politics. To further diminish the quality of political education, schools have as yet allocated only limited instructional resources for this curriculum area. Teachers often develop their own, an activity doomed to failure whenever the teacher is unclear about the goals of political education.

 hile American teachers do accept the concept of citizenship and the role of the school in political socialization, British teachers exhibit much more doubt as to the school's precise mission in regard to political education. They decry the avoidance of controversy in American social studies classrooms, but incipient political conflicts and social cleavages keep them from settling on an alternative form of political education. The Britain lacks a distinct concept of citizenship makes the task of defining and institutionalizing political education even more difficult. If nothing else, the American experience with civic education may serve as a

stimulus for British educators to work out their own resolution for an appropriate curriculum for political education in their schools.

FOOTNOTES

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21.   The other six were health, command of the fundamental process, worthy home membership, vocational preparation, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character.

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Research Paradigms
In Nationalistic Education

JACK L. NELSON

This paper draws from a broad and deep literature on nationalism, the use of the schools as agents for patriotic value inculcation, and the attempts to develop global or transnational perspectives in the schools. It suggests that research paradigms used in the examination of this area have been very limited, but instructive. It argues that nationalistic education, defined as instruction intended to impart positive national loyalty and negative views of ideas considered contra-national,[1] is so institutionalized in the schools of the United States and other countries that it is virtually unseen and certainly uncriticized. The paper further proposes that global or transnational education is made significantly more difficult as a result of nationalistic education. Finally, it suggests that research and scholarly activity be developed and expanded to provide critical judgment of nationalistic education in the schools.

The extraordinarily brief abstract above serves as a statement of claims that I believe, can be warranted by an examination of the evidence. Data demonstrating the institutionalization of nationalistic education in the schools include studies conducted on a variety of countries including the United States, by researchers from several fields and perspectives and over a long period of time.[2]

What is the nature of this research ? Most of it follows a few standard but limited research designs and approaches. The majority of studies involve document analysis, including historical,

philosophic and political-legal analyses. Another form of document analysis often used is the examination of curricular and instructional practice. These latter studies utilize curriculum guides, teaching materials and textbooks used in schools. Political-legal studies focus on such phenomena as laws, regulations and guidelines for instilling patriotism in youth; they also include questions of relative influence among groups or individuals who seek to impose or increase the amount of such education on the schools. Philosophic studies examine rationales for nationalistic education in terms of political, moral or social explanations. And historical studies, of course, trace the development of nationalism and its relation to schooling. Some studies utilize several of these approaches and also provide comparative perspectives by including data from other countries.

There are, however, few studies in nationalistic education which utilize other research methodologies, or different larger scale paradigms. That is, studies which incorporate interviews, case studies, survey data, experimental or quasi-experimental design, ethnographic techniques or naturalistic research are virtually non-existent in this area. Secondly, the standard large scale research paradigm utilized is descriptive or analytic within a Functionalist perspective : an analysis of how nationalistic education operates, and an acceptance of it as functionally useful in national self-protection. There is a lack of studies which take a Marxist, Neo-Marxist or Critical Theory perspective to examine the relation of nationalistic education to socio-economics and social control mechanisms in various parts of the world. There is, thus, a rich lode of potential research open to scholars, some of which should challenge basic premises established by "documentary" scholars in the field.

Scholarship primarily from documentary study in this area, although plentiful, is generally dated and often sporadic. There are few current works which synthesize or systematically treat the subject beyond narrow inquiry into laws, texts or curriculum documents. Still, there are some very important results of existing studies which have broad implications for schools, society and a global setting.

An examination of school practices shows that nationalistic education has expanded in the United States in the twentieth

century and now permeates schools in obvious and subtle ways. The school building in the United States is identifiable because there is always an American flag in front, as well as in the office and often in each classroom; American history and government are required courses throughout the country; athletic events begin with the national anthem; assemblies and P.T.A. meetings start with flag salutes; topics and speakers considered anti-American are excluded from thought or given negative presence; national holidays are ritually recognized; English is the standard medium of teaching; American music, art, science, literature, business subjects, and social problems are emphasized; and seldom are viewpoints critical of selected American ideals and values expressed.

Of course, nationalistic education occurs in greater or lesser intensity in other countries. But an illustration of the hidden quality of much nationalistic education can be presented in an example instance :

When teachers, principals and students in American schools are interviewed they generally express great surprise that the British schools usually fly no national flag. American respondents often react to this information in disbelief. When schoolmasters, teachers and students in British schools are asked why their school does not display the flag, *they* react in disbelief. The typical response is "why?"; or "I never thought about it." They are equally surprised when informed that every American public school displays the United States flag. Similar differences are apparent in areas like course requirements in which United States history is mandated in the United States, while British history is an elective, and popular, British course.

Studies of textbooks, curricula and written requirements for instruction in patriotism and in anti-communism demonstrate the vitality of pressures to instill nationalistic views through the schools.[3] The studies indicate a variety of means for both dimensions of nationalistic education...positive instruction *for* patriotism, and negative instruction *about* areas considered contranational. This is clear in studies of textbooks in American history which treat the activities of the rebels in the American Revolution as heroic, and the activities of the British and Tories as less than humane, courageous or intelligent.[4] Billington summarizes this condition found in American junior high school texts :

"...The impression that nearly all convey, even more persuasively than can be shown by quotations from their pages, is

that the colonists were completely right and the British, although not consciously tyrannical, completely wrong. By repeatedly asserting American virtues, and by consistently labelling British measures as 'stupid' and products of the 'shortsighted, stubborn men who ruled the British Empire' they have reduced an unbelievably complex series of events into a simple contest between 'good' and, 'bad' between 'hero' and villain.' This is not only untrue, but poor history."[5]

It is only fair to note that Billington's study, as have others, found nationalistic bias in texts in countries other than America.

Another area in which Nationalistic education demonstrates the bipolar characteristic of good and evil is in regulations enacted to govern schools. A recent analysis of state laws and written statements regarding the teaching *of* patriotism and the teaching about communism shows this condition.[6]

A 1961 Florida law includes the following:

"...2. The public high schools shall each teach a complete course of not less than thirty hours, to all students enrolled in said public high schools entitled 'Americanism versus Communism.'

3. The course shall provide adequate instruction in the history, doctrines, objectives and techniques of communism and shall be for the primary purpose of instilling in the minds of the students a greater appreciation of democratic process, freedom under law, and the will to preserve that freedom.

4. The course shall be one of orientation in comparative governments and shall emphasize the free-enterprise-competitive economy of the United States as the one which produces higher wages, high standards of living, greater personal freedom and liberty than any other system of economics on earth.

5. The course shall lay particular emphasis upon the dangers of communism, the ways to fight communism, the evils of communism, the fallacies of communism, and the false doctrines of communism.

6. The state textbook committee and the state board of education shall take such action as may be necessary and appropriate to prescribe suitable textbook and instructional

material as provided by state law, using as one of its guides the official reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee of the United States Congress.

7. No teacher or textual material assigned to this course shall present communism as preferable to the system of constitutional government and the free-enterprise-competitive economy indigeneous to the United States."[7]

A California State Board of Education statement in 1962 contains these :

"...2. The State Board of Education, in adopting the Social Studies Framework, has recommended that there be study about communism in secondary schools.

3. Local school district governing boards are responsible for establishing courses of study, and should direct attention to studying about communism.

4. The principal emphasis in teaching about communism should be consistent with the ideal of developing well-informed American citizens; and while such study should be objective and scholarly in its approach, it should develop clearly the threat of communism to the free world."...[8]

And a 1952 statement in New Hampshire notes:

"The schools do not *teach* controversial issues, but rather provide opportunities for their *study*. The schools *teach* the American heritage (our established truths and accepted values) and, in doing this, provide opportunities for pupils to *study* controversial issues under competent guidance. For example, the schools provide opportunities for pupils to *study* other forms of government, such as communism and fascism, in order to teach pupils the values of American democracy .."[9]

These are only representative statements from the seventeen states which reported written regulations on the teaching of patriotism and/or communism.[10] Many states provide teaching materials and guides for such courses.

Another group of studies deals with the impact of pressure groups on nationalistic education in America.[11] These groups generally present a position on patriotism which incorporates a

belief in unchanging values and symbols and a relatively clear perception of what is good citizenship and what is not. Patriotic organizations have a long tradition in America and have been remarkably effective in influencing what is taught in American schools about national and contra-national ideas. The influence occurs in local communities through direct or indirect action on school boards and PTA groups, presentations of monuments and patriotic artifacts to schools, assembly programes, letters to editors of local papers and other means. At the state level, these organizations maintain close contact with legislatures and state school officials to insure 'proper' patriotic education. They also conduct essay and other contests on patriotic themes which are often operated through school auspices. At the national level, the activity includes sponsorship of legislation, organizational resolutions on patriotic education, review of textbooks and other materials used in schools, and some coordination of local programs.

This utilization of the schools for nationalistic purposes is neither new nor unique to America. V. O. Key noted that all national education systems indoctrinate youth with national values.[12] Studies of Chinese, Russian, English, German and other educational systems bear out his statement.[13]

In America, nationalistic education followed easily from pre-revolution notions of the schools as a means for imparting "rightness" in religious and social conduct. The earliest laws regarding the establishment of schools in the colonial period expressed the conviction that morality could and must be taught. The Massachusetts School Laws of 1642 and 1647 provided that children be taught "to read, understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country," as a means of keeping "that auld deluder Sathan" from completing his "project to keep men from ye knowledge of ye Scriptures."[14]

The Revolutionary War and resulting nationalism led to a variety of prominent statements and laws designed to implement the concept of self-government by enlightened citizens.[15] The school became an important device to assure the proper instruction of citizens. Massachusetts, in 1739, had a law which required that "instructors of youth…take diligent care, and to exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth . . . the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard for truth, love

to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornaments of human society, and the basis upon which the Republic Constitution is structured." [6]

From these and similar charges to schools to educate for civic responsibility and proper moral character, emerged a continuing series of activities to insure proper nationalistic training. Laws, such as those cited earlier in this paper, require or prohibit instruction in certain areas of national concern. During the period from 1917 to 1920, several states prohibited instruction in German.[17] Books emphasizing patriotic speeches, songs, and rituals have become required in schools. Statements of school goals show strong nationalism that is conveyed through the curriculum. Hiring and retention practices of districts demand nationalistic commitments from teachers.

Teachers have been subject to extensive regulation in regard to nationalistic education for a long time. Not only have they been admonished to teach the common morality, they have had to operate under restrictive statutes designed to prevent ideas considered to be unAmerican from being promulgated in the schools. It is interesting that nationalistic requirements for teachers were not standard until after the Civil War. The first laws prohibiting state certification of teachers who were not American citizens occurred in North Dakota and Idaho in the 1980s.[18] Kentucky began the network of laws requiring loyalty oaths from teachers in 1862.[19] The disclaimer affidavit, which became especially popular in attempts to eliminate teachers with communist backgrounds from the schools during the past quarter century, had noble ancestry in a Nevada law of 1907 which required teacher and professor signatures affirming loyalty and adding :

"... And I do further solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have not fought a duel, nor sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel, nor been a second to either party, nor in any manner aided or assisted in such a duel, nor been knowingly the bearer of such challenge or acceptance, since the adoption of the Constitution of the State of Nevada, and that I will not be so engaged or concerned directly or indirectly in or about any such duel, during my continuance in office "[20]

There is a wealth of literature on loyalty oaths and disclaimers required of teachers that indicates the social distrust of free and

open education. The notional paranoia reflected in demands that educators be more moral, more American, and more conforming that ordinary citizens are evidenced in the kinds of regulations cited earlier and still governing schools. These policies restricting free education are only exemplified in this paper. The history of nationalistic censorship, textbook and curricular requirements, surveillance of teachers, and periodic reversions to witch-hunt tactics to "ferret out unAmerican ideas" is long and complex.

The result of a tradition of nationalistic education which emphasizes controlled textbooks, curricula and teachers is a cult of nationalism without inquiry — indoctrination to pro-nationalism and against anything viewed by powerful pressure groups as contra-national. David Spitz indicates this aspect in relation to humanism :

"...It follows, therefore, from this idea about the exalted value of patriotism —a view which, for purposes of contrast, I deliberately put here in extreme form —that the teacher's duty is to inculcate the primary obligations of citizenship: loyalty to, nay reverence of, the state and obedience to the law. He may, to be sure, have his pupils recite the words, 'In Democracy that state is for man, not man for the state,' for this rhetoric is still esteemed, but he must make certain that they understand (as the citizens of Orwell's 1984 came to understand) that words are not always what they seem.

There is, however, an alternative judgment adout the value of patriotism. In this conception the state, the nation, the country are but instrumental to the requirements of man-man as self and man as humanity. The individual is the supreme end; the country but the means to the fulfillment of that end; To argue otherwise, to reverse this order of value, is held to be a perversion of purpose Consequently, nationalism is regarded from this standpoint as little more than a form of incest, even of insanity. It degrades rather than elevates man. It debases democratic and religious ideas of the value, the significance, of man.

For the teacher who holds this alternative view, the primary obligation of the school is not to the nation but to humanity. And patiotism, which is the cult of nationalism, is necessarily to be scorned. At the very most, it may be defended as a

temporary and necessary expedient; but under no circumstances is it to be revered as an intrinsic good. This, however, I need hardly add, is not the value that most of our teachers and the overwhelming bulk of the community attach to patriotism. Hence, the pressures of conformity move rather to sustain the first conception, that which puts love of country above love of man... .."[21]

There is a wide variety of ways in which nationalistic education remains in schools. They appear to ebb and flow with social conditions, increasing in intensity when significant threats to national interests are perceived, and decreasing in more tranquil periods. The present situation regarding student unrest has already developed a nationalistic reaction which may have considerable impact on the schools and patriotic teaching. The "new patriotism" described by Sisson,[22] which would incorporate notions of continuing revolution from Jefferson, the Adamses and others, may be an ideal for an open society of free men, but appears to be unlikely in the prescriptive framework of the old patriotism. And it is the old patriotism which contro's the schools.

A new definition for nationalistic education which would make it in the national interest to develop free men through open inquiry and the presumption of change would drastically change the present conditions in schools. It would permit challenges to prevalent national values, symbols and rituals, and it would not demand unquestioning acceptance. This alteration would not, however, resolve the dilemma of national security and individual liberty, for many would view this restructuring of schools as a form of anarchy which would destroy the nation rather than improve it.

But, if the schools fail to provide an arena for open discussion of national values, what social institution will ? To the extent that nationalistic education is continued as blind faith in American superiority, there are serious questions raised about the development of free men. In a sense, the freedom to contemplate national ideals now occurs outside of schools rather than as a part of formal education. This may be one explanation for student perceptions of educational hypocrisy. Despite the pronouncements of free inquiry in schools and the verbal support for studying "controversial" issues, there are large segments of school time in

which inquiry and controversy are not permitted or are conducted in a closed arena—positive national caricature.

NATIONALISTIC SOCIALIZATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Inculcation of specific nationalistic beliefs is, as suggested earlier, neither new nor limited to America. Carlton Hayes notes that school was a primary agent for the development of nationalism in Germany, France and Japan.[23] He credits schooling with assistance in the movement toward World War I by nationalistic propaganda used in classrooms.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, in 1772, published an essay on nationalistic education in response to a Polish nobleman's request for ways to increase nationalism in the country.[24] This essay is considered to be the first systematic statement which offers a conscious and organized nationalism. Rousseau argues that national institutions should produce a love and loyalty for country by indoctrinating people to unbreakable habits. The school, teaching patriotism as an absolute necessity, is a major nationalistic instiiution. Rousseau saw the school as a mechanism to "give national form to the soul of the people, and guide their opinions and tastes in such a way that they will become patriots through inclination, through passion, through necessity."[25] He recommends that only Poles be permitted to teach, and then only if of the proper character; and only nationalistic literature would be read in school.

Hayes, in an analysis of French school books used in the 1920s, gives many examples of the use of texts to instill national pride.[26] Even in the text presentations of scientific achievements, there is only mention of French scientists, no discoveries by scientists of another country.

In China an essay by Chang Chih-tung was published in 1898 which argued that saving China from revolution required that the reigning dynasty be maintained, the religion conserved, and the Chinese race protected.[27] These were to be done by nationalistic education. Cyrus Peake, examining that education system in 1932 publication, notes that the schools had a pervasive "dogmatic and intolerant" spirit of nationalism.[28] More recently, a study of texts used in Chinese schools was reported by Ridley, Godwin and

Doolin.[19]   They found that stories in the schoolbooks were heavily nationalistic, including love for China and hate for imperialists like America.

SIMILAR RESEARCH PARADIGMS

In the studies of other countries and their nationalistic education practices, the research design and frameworks are very similar. That is, examination of documents like government regulations, text books and polemic essays provides the basis for conclusions about patriotic use of the schools. This descriptive approach is undoubtedly accurate; the schools of virtually all countries are and have been heavily nationalistic. The data are impressive and uncontested. But there is a need to move toward explanatory analysis, beyond description. We have thoroughly documented the nature and extent of nationalistic education. It has been described and defined. The need now is to consider an explanatory theory.

Several possible paradigms of research are avenues for exploration. Historical analysis to identify causality themes is one possibility : What causes an increase or decrease in nationalistic education ? Another approach may be to move the document analysis country-by-country to a larger scale synthesis, an application of critical theory to provide explanation : How can hegemony and social reproduction be used to understand nationalistic education throughout the world?; How is nationalistic education involved in social control mechanisms of value to social elites ?; What is the hidden agenda of nationalistic education on a global scale ? And a third set of research paradigms that could be used to examine nationalistic education are more narrow and precise. These designs would seek to understand the relation between nationalistic education and other behaviors and thoughts. The experimental studies, raising such questions as the relationship between nationalistic education and global loyalities, permit predictive research. It would be important to know how nationalistic education, in its many forms, influences individual and group concept-formation, moral reasoning and attitudes toward others.

This area of research is rich with possibilities and of significance in international or global settings.

FOOTNOTES

1. This definition is proposed and developed with evidential support in the following works :

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David Naylor, "An In-Depth Study of the Perceptions of Public School Educators and other Significant School-Related Groups Concerning Aspects of Nationalistic Education", unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1974.

2. See such works as : Carlton J. H. Hayes, *France : A Nation of Patriots*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1930; Edward M. Earle, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1950; Charles Ridley, et al., *The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China*, Stanford CA : Hoover Institution Press, 1971; P. A. Narasimha Murthy, *The Rise of Modern Nationalism in Japan*, New Delhi : Askajanak Publishers, 1973; and William Gellerman, *The American Legion as Educator*, New York : Teachers College Press, 1933.

3. See especially Mark Krug, "The Teaching of History at the Center of the Cold War—History Textbooks in East and West and the Nazi Past", *Saturday Review*, July 20, 1963; William Medlin, "Analysis of Soviet History Textbooks Used in the Ten Year School", in *Teaching in the Social Sciences and the Humanities in the U.S.S.R.*, U. S. Office of Education Division of International Education, December, 1959; Cyrus Peake, *Nationalism and Education in Modern China*, Columbia University Press, 1932; Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "Education and Indoctrination in Red China", *Current History*, September 1961; Dixon Miyauchi, "Textbooks and the Search for a New National Ethic in Japan", *Social Education*, March, 1964; J. Merton England, "The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860", *American Quarterly*, Summer, 1963.

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12. V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, Knopf, 1961, p. 316.

13. See footnote 3.

14. N. B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 203, Boston, 1853.

15. Bessie Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, Knopf, 1926. See especially footnotes in Chapter 1.

16. Statutes of Massachusetts, 1780-1807, Section 4, Vol. I, pp. 470-71, as found in Bessie Pierce, Ibid.

17. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin Number 30, 1920, Laws Enacted in 1918 and 1919*, Government Printing Office, 1921.

18. *Laws* of North Dakota, 1897 par. 742; *Laws* of Idaho, 1897, Section 17.

19. *Laws* of Kentucky, 1862, Ch. 636.

20. *Laws* of Nevada, 1907, Ch. CLXXXII, Sec. 30. p. 386; as found in Bessie Pierce, op. cit.

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22. Daniel Sisson, "Toward a New Patriotism", *The Center Magazine*, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, May, 1969.

23. Carlton, J. H. Hayes, "Nationalism : Historical Development," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, N. Y. : Macmillan, 1937.

24. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Considerations sar le gouvernement de Pologne, in Oeuvres Complete, Vol. V, Paris, 1832. Trans. by Ida May Snyder.

25. Ibid.

26. Hayes, *France, A Nation of Patriots*. op. cit.

27. Chang Chi-tung, "Learn," trans. by Woodbridge, in D. Nelson Rowe, *Modern China*, Princeton : Princeton Press, 1959.

28. Cyrus Peake. *Notionalism and Education in Modern China*, N. Y. : Columbia Univ. Press. 1932.

29. Ridley, et. al. op. cit.

Ukrainian Nationalism and the
Soviet Education Policy Since Stalin

MARY F. NICHOLS

BACKGROUND

There is an issue specific to the Russo-Ukrainian relationship which is not present in the relations of Russians and other non-Russian nationalities. Russians and Ukrainians have a long history of shared experiences, so close at times as to be viewed as members of a common, single nation. It can be argued that it is only in the twentieth century that the differentiation of the two nations, realized and accepted by the wide masses of people and not only by the intelligentsia, has been accomplished.

The Soviet Ukraine as we know it today has been in existence for about thirty-five years. In 1944-45 the western oblasti were incorporated in the USSR and the Crimea was added ten years later. The Ukraine as it existed before the establishment of Soviet power did not have firm boundaries for any significant length of time, the area being under a variety of competing forces.[2] Owing to diverse migratory patterns, the towns located mainly in the East, and the country side of the Ukraine differed ethnically and linguistically. The prevalence of Russians in the cities was a decisive factor according to some scholars, in bringing about the failure of Ukraine struggle for independence.[3] The Ukraine has been the prime area of Russian urban settlement outside the RSFSR with over two-fifths of Russian urban population (1897-1970) occurring in this republic.[4]

Ukrainians are not only the second largest nationality group in the Union, but the only group which can challenge Russian domination in higher social and political strata in politically meaningful numbers. The proximity of the Ukrainian language, cultural tradition, ethnic origin and characteristics make such a challenge less conspicuous and therefore more acceptable to the Russians.[5] In order to neutralize any tendency toward nationalism, a basic centralizing, assimilationist policy of the government, which has not changed since Khruschev's fall, has been pursued. The programme seeks an approach toward the achievement of complete unity through increased mobility of the population,[6] administrative changes of republican frontiers and boundaries of economic regions,[7] and the spread of the Russian language "to the cultural gains of all the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to world culture."[8] All opposition to assimilation as "manifestations of national aloofness in education and employment of workers of different nationalities in the Soviet republics," is to be vigorously combated.[9] Virtually no Ukrainian schools have been allowed outside the Republic since Stalin closed them down in 1933.[10]

NATIONALISM

Roman Smal-Stocki regards it as a fact that history has clearly put the nationality problem at the centre of international politics with World War I,[11] and this nationality problem has dominated the international situation until the present day. The origin of major internal and international difficulties of the existing states during this period could not be separated from the issues of national self-determination, national identity, the status of minorities, and human rights in general. The removal of arbitrary foreign control and of discriminatory treatment of citizens by a state has been looked upon as the prerequisite for modern development. The twentieth century, despite its excesses of two world wars, has been considered a century of progress. Hardly any other century witnessed the dissolution of so many empires within a relatively short span of time.[12]

The regional and nationality attitudes of the people living in the Soviet border areas have posed peculiar problems for Soviet leaders and forced significant modifications of Soviet practices; these special problems and modifications alike are of considerable interest to the West. Ukrainian nationalism was a major cause of the

formation of the Soviet federation in 1922 and is the bastion resisting pressures for restructuring the Soviet Union as a unitary state.[13] Historically and politically, this Republic has played the most important role. Its population is the largest and its economic level is highest in the Soviet Union (outside Russia). Apart from the Georgian republic, it has developed the richest national literature and strongest national movement.[14]

While there is a tradition of separate political development in the Ukraine, modern nationalism, as the concept of an independent state, came late to the area.[15] It is this late emergence of nationalism which endows it with peculiar interest.[16] Paradoxically, Ukrainian nationalism was stronger in 1945 than it had been at the end of World War I. For the first time since the Middle Ages different branches of Ukrainian people reunited in one state.

In Eastern Ukraine, a modern economy had been created, many people obtained a modern education and had become nationally conscious, partly due to Soviet Policy. In the Western Ukraine, the political and socio-economic struggle with dominating power, chiefly Poland, had brought Ukrainian nationalism to the boiling point.[17] Ukrainian nationalism was the only dynamic anti-Communist movement which was able to carry on extensive propaganda under German occupation. It attracted a large proportion of intellectuals and technicians, but the essential mass remained uncommitted.[18]

In the period since WW II, the process of Russification of national cultures and indoctrination of youth in the indissoluble union with the Russian nation has been especially pronounced. There are indications in recent party propaganda work that efforts are being redoubled to proselytize the Soviet citizen to the concept that he belongs to a commonwealth of peoples with a long record of good relations.[19] Adam Ulam concludes that such methods will prove ineffectual when dealing with national groups like the Ukrainians.[20] In the Communist view, the nation will pass away, but not soon. Ukrainian and other nationalists are wooed with the thought that their future is to be a long one, since world-wide communism is still remote.[21]

The common conclusion of Western scholars is that without exception, nationality remains an important and vital force within sectors of Ukrainian society at all levels.[22] The party continues

to confront nationality consciousness within the framework of the federal structure; nationality integration into modernized society remains a question of major importance. Indigenous and homogenizing forces oppose one another in the literary and linguistic fields, and issues of competing nationality identities warrant constant attention. Moreover, the role and importance of nationality and the pressures for assimilation are evident in the schools, factories, youth organizations and the military. The contradictory forces of nationality consciousness on the one hand, and the strong pressures for integration at work in the USSR on the other, are of vital concern to students of Soviet society.

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

The problems of nationalism and secularization are two manifestations that accompany modern political development and are of particular interest to the area of Soviet education policies.[23] Soviet experience in development, and the results achieved over the course of a half-century, are generally rationalized as the process of modernization common to other developing nations. The evolution of Soviet politics has encompassed significant deviations from what are usually considered the characteristics of modernization. If modernization has come to mean economic development, industrialization, urbanization, and the resulting bureaucratization of political and productive systems, combined with the spread of mass education, then the Soviet Union is eligible for that status. If "the central significance of the total development process is in its capacity to widen human choice and alternatives," then the USSR represents a conspicuous failure in modern society.[24]

The demise of Stalinism and the modernization and industrialization of the Soviet Union are accomplished facts which have profoundly altered the environment in which the governmental system operates. By limiting the power of the secret police, reforming the legal system, and removing the excesses of Stalinism, Khrushchev had weakened the edifice of the dictatorship. By discrediting Stalin's terror, he was unable to reimpose control, even over his own Party.[25] Khrushchev's growing awareness of this crisis induced him to seek broader bases of support from lower level party organizations and from the masses of Soviet citizens. Hence the Leninist revival of "public participation" in the affairs of government and the dedication to "collective leadership" which

is so loudly trumpeted as the supreme principle of Soviet democracy.[26]

Concommitant with these developments, since the "heyday" of Khrushchev, the CPU (Communist Party Ukraine) increased much faster than that of the CPSU (Communist Party Soviet Union). Thus it was that Leonid Brezhnev instituted "aggressive denationalization" of the party through the practice of exchange of cadres (the emigration of educational Ukrainians and the influx of Russians into the Ukrainian republic),[27] as well as the "exchange of party cards" to cover a wholesale purge of political and intellectual dissidents. This has been followed by placing ethnic Russians into key positions in the CPU.[28]

In the past, Soviet interpreters of the history of the CPSU have made much issue of the so-called national features of the corporate republican parties. This is no longer the case. Borys Lewytzkyj has stated that the organs of power in the Ukraine today do not even claim to represent national interests at the local level. The integration of all sections of Society into the "Soviet People" will merely accelerate this now inevitable development.[29]

The effects of modernization on the Soviet Union as a multinational state have been to bring about ethnic-stratification—the outcome of social and economic change. The relative non-integration of Ukrainians into modernized society, particularly as reflected in the relatively low level of urbanization, is due principally to the fact that the system of ethnic stratification in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union has partially excluded them from advanced sectors. The Russians, as the dominant group in Imperial and Soviet society, modernized relatively early and preempted most non-Russian areas. The presence of large numbers of non-Ukrainians in the cities almost certainly impeded the urbanization of the indigenous population.

The USSR was conceived as a federation of ethnic republics, and although this arrangement has been viewed by Soviet theorists as a transitional stage, the nationality units have assumed some permanence and legitimacy. Despite population exchange and ethnic intermarriage—despite the differences between East and West Ukraine, and the gulf between the political elite and the common people, the Ukrainians show a rather strong cohesiveness. If this

is the case, the benefits which have accrued to Ukrainians in their own republic, in comparison to the non-Ukrainians, is of some importance. The Ukrainians remain relatively disadvantaged within their nationality republic.[30]

DISSENTERS

Since nationalism is essentially a psychological phenomenon, nationality rights and individual rights are closely interwoven.[31] During the period of political relaxation poets' writers, and some journalists began to criticize the drabness of Soviet life, the abuses of power, and the Party and government officials in general.[32] Despite the massive repressive reaction against dissent in 1965-66, Michael Browne states there has been continuing, and apparently undiminished, ferment in the Ukraine. This has reflected a profound and growing discontent within the country with the policies of the regime in social, economic and political matters, and as regards the rights of citizens and nationalities.[33] Russian dissenters began to grapple with the nationality question in the late 1960's and early 1970's—the problem is increasingly more acute, rather than attenuated.[34]

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw has defined three modes of Ukrainian dissent as : resocialization of Ukrainian society, especially the youth, in a participatory political culture radically different in its values from the dominant political culture; appealing to the ethno-cultural values of self-interest of the Ukrainian members of the Republic's political elite to be more decisive in the defense of interests of the Ukrainian nation; and influencing the Republican and all-Union decision-makers through publicity and support for dissident causes, to reverse the Soviet nationalities policy.[35]

The extent of the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals and students for such crimes as protesting against the suppression of the Ukrainian language and national heritage, can be gauged from the Ukrainian *samizdat* [36] The basic policy aiming at eventual assimilation of the Ukrainians does not appear to have changed, and while the measurable linguistic Russification among the populace is not conclusive evidence of a total change in cultural and political outlook, it is the best measure available. The regime reinforces the Russifying character of the larger cities through its school policies, being helped by some assimilated Ukrainians. The fact that the struggle prevails is attested to by the fact that many

educators were among those tried in 1966 for disseminating pamphlets relating to the state of the Ukrainian language and culture in the U.S.S.R.[37]

While the movement in the Ukraine is a reaction to long-standing grievances, it is noteworthy that most of its spokespersons are young people who have been educated in "Soviet patriotism" and were, in some cases, members of the Komsomol or the Communist Party. The attempts of the regime to discredit them by linking them with the violently anti-Soviet older Ukrainian nationalist movement are unconvincing.[38] With the demise of Stalin, a new generation of Ukrainians in the universities, the professions, the mass media arts, letters, and administration, was beginning to speak out with ever greater frankness over the creeping Russification which from the late 1930's had been quietly, but relentlessly eroding the cultural gains achieved.[39] Student circles and members of the younger intelligentsia may be found especially in Kiev and Lvov. Much activity is pursued in studying or teaching philology, Ukrainian language, literature and history. The principal centres have been Lvov University, Kiev Polytechnic Institute, the "Homin" ethnographic ensemble in Kiev, Kiev University, ethnographically oriented institutes of the Academy of Sciences of of Ukraine and the Ukrainian literary fraternity.[40]

A number of factors have combined to create a public opinion (so disturbing to KGB men) not the least of which is the fact that the new generation lacks the direct experience of the paralyzing fear of Stalin's Great Terror. This new generation is also better equipped to think for itself and is more educated.[41] Without the guidance, let alone the knowledge of what had been said earlier by the Shakharais and the Mazlakhs (dissenters), the younger generation has arrived at conclusions about itself, its people, and its society, which the older generation could easily recognize as its own. The search for identity, individual and national, has ecome part of the "permanent revolution" of the twentieth century.[42]

SOVIET EDUCATION POLICY

Students of political socialization, while differing on the importances of the educational system relative to other agencies of political socialization, are in accord that the schools are certainly one of the major sources of the political attitudes, norms, and values, which are transmitted inter-generationally. The schools

were so identified early in the development of behavioral theory dealing with political socialization.[43] Preoccupation with the more mundane aspects of a technological nature has caused American scholars to lose sight of an educational goal which the Soviets consider paramount—the formation of the "new Soviet man."[44]

Modernization in Soviet education represents an effort to advance the welfare of the Soviet people according to clearly formulated and widely recognized criteria of action.[45] Soviet leadership faces a threefold task : to bring all men to share and believe in the Communist ideal; to cement the bonds among the different groups of the new society by establishing a common culture; to further the cause of socialism by teaching all citizens vocational skills to achieve economic ambitions. These three purposes—political, cultural, and vocational—provide the foundations of Soviet education.[46] In short. the Soviet system has two major characteristics : it is a planned system and it is a mass system. These two characteristics, George Bereday claims, are plainly incompatible.[47]

Neither inspiring communist enthusiasm nor modern pedagogical theories of the educational policies of the 1920's could produce a generation of dedicated communists. The restoration of traditional forms and discipline, coupled with permeation of all subjects with the "party spirit" during the 1930's and 1940's, also failed to produce true conformists. The present generation of students suggests that the jumble of educational prescriptions tried out in the 1950's has not been conducive to forming the kind of citizens who will blindly accept the word of authority.[48] Rigidity of political thought remains one of the unresolved problems of Soviet modernization. The official trend in Soviet nationality policy as it effects education is thus one of facilitating assimilation. American education has been described as a search for unity within diversity. Soviet education today reaches out for diversity within unity. School policy seeks to be flexible enough to adapt to the exigencies of a modern industrial society. It is in its obsolescence, as well as in its modernity, a typically Soviet product.[49]

Even so, the feature of the Soviet policies which Ukrainian and other Soviet citizens like best is its educational system. Except for rural Ukrainians with little education, the educational

(career) chances of Ukrainians and Russians of similar social background do not differ significantly. The higher a Ukrainian advances, the more complaint is expressed that nationality is a negative factor in career advancement Soviet anti-Ukrainian discrimination is directly related to the Ukrainian citizen's preference for his native culture.[50] The difference between Western and Eastern Ukrainians is primarily a political one, related to the basic attitudes toward Sovietization. To the Western Ukrainians, the Russians are the "devils incarnate" for having destroyed their traditional way of life, while Eastern Ukrainians do not share their extreme rejection of everything Russian. Western Ukrainians reject the regime "in toto"; Eastern Ukrainians point out that, despite all its evils, it gives out scholarships and introduced Ukrainian in public schools. Western Ukrainians ignore the first and take the latter for granted.[51]

In order to maintain psychological access to the majority of the Ukrainian people, the regime has not only allowed the teaching of all subjects in Ukrainian in the majority of primary and secondary schools, but has tolerated the growth of a small Ukrainian elite committed to the development of Ukrainian culture. The aim of Soviet Communism appears to be not so much to reject the patriotic attitudes of its peoples altogether, but to absorb and transform them into the higher unity of Soviet patriotism.[52] Will this prove dysfunctional ?

The most salient feature of the change in nationality policy under Khrushchev has been that of language. The issue involved was seemingly obscure; the obligatory or non-obligatory nature of the second language in primary and secondary schools of the Ukrainian SSR. Many prominent Ukrainians correctly perceived the political implications of that measure (Thesis 19). John Kolasky has stated that Stalin had destroyed the architects and engineers of Ukrainianization; Khrushchev embarked on the policy of destroying the Ukrainian language itself, by undertaking to replace it with the Russian language in the schools of the Ukraine.[53]

Unlike Stalin's restoration of Russian hegemony in 1946, the second shift in nationality policy under Khrushev was not accepted without extensive, vocal, and seemingly futile opposition from Ukrainians in various walks of life—from college teachers to a Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee.[54] From the view of Karl W. Deutsch's analysis, the

outlook for Ukrainian nationalism would appear rather bleak.[55] Protests against Russification of schools seem to be overruled by a desire for economic betterment. The regime has openly and continuously stressed that Russian nationality (assimilation) was "the winning card in the social game for prestige and wealth." Economic development and widespread education has prepared the native cadres for assuming administrative positions and they have challenged the old ruling class, mostly composed of Russians, to move aside so they may hold responsible positions.[56] The salient question remains as to whether Soviet educational policies of assimilation will prove as dysfunctional as those of rapidly modernizing developing areas in the Middle East.[57]

The Party's role in Soviet education is primary. For strengthening its grip on Soviet education, the Party relies upon two subsidiary organizations; the Komsomol and the trade unions. The former is involved in student life and the latter embraces the teachers and university faculty.[58]

Far from loosening their grip on the new generation in comparison with their practices in Stalin's time, the Komsomol and Pioneers have been involved in intensive efforts to extend their influence, both in membership coverage and in the range of youth activities they supervise. The resort to coercion and threat has been replaced by more subtle tactics of persuasion. The youth program is now regarded as more essential, as it must remind the new generation not to confuse liberalization tendencies with a grant of autonomy. The content of the youth program (as revealed in recent policy literature) centers around renewed efforts to exercise total control over youth, on the basis that reforms have not made the organizations one of "paternalistic" concern.[59]

Trade unions play an important role in universities and other higher educational institutions. They influence the choice and placement of teaching personnel, and trade union representatives are members of the commissions which determine the qualifications of new faculty members on a competitive basis. In addition, trade union representatives are members of the learned councils, as well as admission commissions for new students. Upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the All-union Central Council of Trade Unions, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher Education has withheld faculty appointments in several universities.[60]

The regime is probably correct when it insists (at least in the case of Soviet society) that any form of pluralism is impossible. The best that can be expected is some sort of benign totalism within the limits of the administered society,[61] the wrost, a surrender of good intentions to manage society without terror and a return to some form of classical Stalinism. The function of the Soviet Education System is the pursuit of political socialization, preparation for social mobility and social stratification in a communist Ukrainian society are of paramount interest in the light of Ukrainian nationalism.

CONCLUSION

The available studies indicate that in the 1930's the regime destroyed, in a systematic fashion, the leading cadres of Ukrainian political and cultural life. At the same time, the results of the *korenizatsiya* were partly undone by reintroducing Russian on a large scale into offices, schools, and universities.

Although there are millions of Ukrainians who have been integrated into advanced Soviet society via the process of modernization (urbanization, education, industrialization), the Ukrainians in the Ukraine remain characterized by lower levels of modernization and integration into the advanced work force than Russians and the nationalities in the Republic.

Ukrainian dissidents do indeed perceive the incursions by Russians into the advanced sectors of society in the Ukraine. Of far greater importance is whether or not the general populace, particularly those in the lower socio-economic strata, views the Russians and other outsiders as usurpers of opportunities within the Ukraine.

If Soviet policy does in fact advocate the incorporation of Ukrainians into modernized unitary society, some assessment of the success of such a policy and its implications must be attempted.

FOOTNOTES

1. Roman Szporluk, "Russians in the Ukraine and Problems of Ukrainian Identity," in Peter J. Potichnyj, ed. *Ukraine in the Seventies* (Oakvilles, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1975), 195-96. Henry R. Huttenbach claims the relationship of the Ukraine to

the Soviet Union has always been a cause of bitter dispute. Whether the membership of the Ukrainian SSR is voluntary is not only a matter of academic interest but also a personal matter to Ukrainians. It is more of a meeting of two related peoples with a related past, each claiming to be the legitimate heir. He states that to understand the original historical causes of the problem, one must look to the tenth century when a single civilization embraced the Dnieper-Volga valleys. Henry R. Huttenbach, "The Ukraine and Muscovite Expansion," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *Russian Imperalism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1974). 167-168.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 198.

For an explanation of the ethnic composition of the Ukraine, see V. I. Naulko, "The Present Ethnic Composition in the Ukraine," in Steven Dunn, ed. *Sociology in the USSR: A Collection of Readings from Soviet Sources* (White Plaines, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1969).

3. Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Nationalism and Communism, 1917-1923* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 149.

4. Robert A. Lewis, *et. al. Nationality and Population Change in Russia and the USSR: An Evaluation of Census Data, 1897-1970* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), 161.

5. Robert Conquest, *Russia After Khrushchev* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), 51. There was a marked influx of Ukrainians into high party positions during the Khrushchev era due to Khrushchev's close personal ties with the Ukrainian party since he had once been first secretary, and the inherent importance of the Ukrainian Republic in Soviet politics. Since the accession of Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership, Ukrainians are now completely out of the Secretariat, which consists entirely of Russians. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Equality and Discrimination in Soviet Society" in Richard D. Little, ed. *Liberalization in the USSR: Facade or Reality* ? (Lexington, Mass. : D. C. Health and Co., 1968), 101-102

6. Herbert Ritvo. comp, *The New Soviet Society* (New York: The New Leader, 1962), 192.

7. *Ibid.,* 191.

8. *Ibid.*, 198.

9. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Assimilation and Ethnic Assertiveness Among Ukrainians of the Soviet Union," in Erich Goldhage, ed. *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (New York : Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 153.

10. *Ibid.*, 156.

11. Roman Smal-Stocki, *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism.* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1952), xix. Ernest B. Hass defines "nationalism" as the body of beliefs held by people searching for "uniqueness and autonomy." Ernest B. Hass, *Beyond the Nation-State. Functionalism and International Organization* (Stanford, CA. : Stanford University Press, 1968), 165 ff. Hass cites Max Weber: "A nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own······..." [from Max Weber, "Essays in Sociology, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds (New York : Galaxy, 1958), 176 , "Introduction."

12 Ihor Kamenetsky, ed., *Nationalism and Human Rights*: *Processes of Modernization in the USSR* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1977), 12.

13. John Hazard, "The Status of the Ukrainian Republic Under the Soviet Federation," in Peter J. Potichnyj, *op. cit.*, 221. A recent Soviet writer, Korolev disagrees with some Soviet legal theoreticians who claim that the "mutual assimilation of the nations was a condition for the withering away of the state." Korolev claims that the national differences will remain long after the withering away of states and holds the definite disappearance of national differences will occur first under the conditions of the fully developed Communist society. A. I. Korolev, "Gosudarstvo i natsia," *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta. Ekonomika, Filosofia-Pravo* Vypusk 3, September 1968, as cited in Jurij Borys, "The Question of Political Development and Nationalities Issues in Russian and East European Political Theories" in Ihor Kamentsky, *op. Cit.*, 45.

14. Robert S. Sullivant, *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), i.

15. John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952), 12.

16. John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945* (New York: Columbia University, 1955), 3, 4.

17. Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1964), 1.

18. John A. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 187-188.

19. Lowell Tillett, *The Great Friendship* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 422.

20. Adam B. Ulam, *The Russian Political System* (New York Random House, 1974), 74.

21. John Hazard, *op. cit.*, 227.

22. Ralph S. Clem, ed. *The Soviet West: Interplay Between Nationality and Social Organization* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 2.

23. Robert A. Lewis lists variables for modernization as declining mortality and fertility, rapid urbanization, interregional migration, rising levels of education, the change from agricultural to industrial work force, and high rates of female participation in the work force. These demographic trends have an important ethnic dimension—the critical importance of ethnicity in the USSR and its direct link to population change and modernization are examined extensively in Robert A. Lewis, *et. al. Nationality and Population Change* in Russia and the USSR: An Evaluation of Census Data, 1897-1970 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976).

24. Vasyl Markus, "Religion in the Soviet Ukraine: A Political Problem of Modernizing Society," In Ihor Kamenetsky, ed. *op. cit.*, 155. Robert Conquest argues that the outstanding quality of the Soviet political system, with or without Stalin, has always been the exercise of oppressive dictatorship by a non-elective ruling elite. William M. Mandel believes that the political process is a major transformation "from dictatorship to consensus" in which the party is not the agency through which society shows unmistakable signs of a pluralist mechanism—for the citizen, it introduces "a vast amount of participatory democracy on many vital subjects." Richard Little, *op. cit.*, 6-8.

25. W. W. Rostow, *The Dynamics of Soviet Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1967) 285.

26. Richard Little defines "liberalization" as (a) a meaning-ful increase in the participation of the citizenry through discrete interest groups, in the decision-making processes of the govern-ment; (b) an increasing measure of institutionalized protection of Soviet citizens in the exercise of constitutional rights—particularly freedom of speech and (c) a political climate increasingly amenable to cultural and intellectual freedom—and free of discrimination on basis of occupation, creed, or nationality. He believes the Soviet system in the 1960's presents a transformation from personalized dictatorship in four ways: (1) a marked unabated political struggle reflecting disunity within party leadership, (2) the conflict is centered around major policy question rather than leadership and power, (3) there is an emergence of public political controversy, and (4) a relaxation of terror. Richard Little, *op. cit.*, 1-5.

27. Yaroslav Bilinsky, Politics, Purge and Dissent in the Ukraine," in Ihor Kamenetsky, *op. cit.*, 173.

28. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Communist Party of the Ukraine after 1966," in Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *op. cit.*, 254-55.

29. Borys Lewytzkyj, "The Ruling Party Organs of the Ukraine," in Potichnyj, ec., *op. cit.*, 272.

30. Robert A. Lewis, "The Growth and Redistribution of Ukrainian Population of Russia and the USSR: 1897-1970" in Peter Potichnyj, ed., *op. cit.*, 151-163.

31. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Russian Dissenters and the Nationa-lity Problem, "in Kamenetsky, *op. cit.*, 86.

32. W. W. Rostow, *op. cit.*, 287.

33. Michael Browne, ed., *Ferment in the Ukraine* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 211.

34. Bilinsky, "Russian Dissenters," in Kamenetsky, *op. cit.*, 87.

35. Bohdan R. Bociurkis, "Comments on Prof. Julian Birch "The Nature and Sources of Dissidence in the Ukraine,", in Potichnyj, ed., *op. cit.*, 330.

36. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Politics, Purge and Dissent in the Ukraine," in Kamenetsky, *op. cit.*, 175.

37. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Assimilation and Assertiveness Among Ukrainians," in Erich Goldhagen, ed., *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publ., 1968), 169-170.

38. Michael Hayward, "Foreward," in Michael Browne, ed., *op. cit.*, x.

39. Sherii Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, *On the Current Situation in the Ukraine* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 29-30.

40. Julian Birch, "The Nature and Sources of Dissidence in the Ukraine," in Potichnyj, ed., *op. cit.*, 310.

41. Michael Browne, ed., *op. cit.*, 3.

42. Sherri Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, *op. cit.*, 30.

43. David Easton, "The Function of Formal Education in a Political System," *The School Review*, LXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957). 314.

44. Jeffrey W. Hahn. "Political Socialization in the U.S.S.R. The Komsomol and the Education System," Ph. D. Dissertation Duke University, 1971), 153.

45. Jaan Pennar, *et. al. Modernization and Diversity in Soviet Education: With Special Reference to Nationality Groups* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 339.

46. George A. F. Bereday, *et. al. The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), 13.

47. *Ibid.*, 19.

48. S. V. Utechin, "Education and the Programme," in Leonard Schapiro, ed·, *The U. S. S. R. and the Future* (New York: Frederic A. Praeger, Publishers, 1963), 220-221. George Bereday states that in the fulfillment of the political goals, the schools have had considerable success in evoking a commitment to communism. He claims that groups in the West underestimate the people's enthusiasm for their own system. George A. F. Bereday, *The Changing Soviet Schools*, 13.

49. Jaan Pennar, *et. al.: op. cit.*, 340-341.

50. Yaraslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic*, 288-292.

In 1970, the educational levels for Ukrainians in the Republic were lower than the levels for Russians; differences in urban

areas were less. Ukrainians in their own Republic do not participate in advanced sectors of society to the degree warranted by their numbers. Reason: Soviet policy is designed to shift young skilled personnel from their titular republic to other areas. Ralph S. Clem, ed., *op. cit.*, 63-64.

51. *Ibid.*, 292-297.

Western views of inequality of educational opportunity are that it is socially structured. Soviet sociologist, M. Rukevich, maintains that existing inequalities in education are economically determined and will inevitably wither away. Soviet sociologist V. I. Mishin argues that the tendency of the intelligentsia to become self-recruiting by its domination in VUZ admissions is socially divisive and prevents the emergence of talent from other groups. This has also been expressed in Ukrainian dissent. M, Rukevich, "Konkurs," *Izvestia*, December 9, 1967, as cited in Bohdan Harasymiwed, *Education and the Mass Media in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (Canada: University of Calgary, 1976), 58-59

52. Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic*, 303. Much Ukrainian dissent has been directed to stringent requirements for Russian language in order to enter higher education. Soviet educational authorities have rejected the idea standards should be lowered for disadvantaged and underprepared. Equality of educational opportunity must take two forms: equalization of the quality of primary and secondary education and special programs for those from inadequate schools. Robert J. Osborn, *Soviet Social Policies: Welfare, Equality, and Community* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1970), 127.

53. John Dolasky, *Education in the Ukraine* (Toronto: Peter Martin Assoc., 1968), 24. Schwartz and Keech in their study of group participation in the education reform of 1958 confined themselves to the observation that in so far as groups influenced the outcome of this issue it was through the communication of their expert judgments to people at the top of the hierarchy who *were* in a position to influence outcomes. Joel J. Schwartz and William R. Keech, "Group Influence on the Policy Process in the Soviet Union, "*American Political Science Review*, LXII (1968), 840-851.

54. Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic*, 32.

55.   Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (Boston, MIT Press, 1953), 152.

56.   Bilinsky, The Second Soviet Republic, 299-305.

57.   The Russians are highly associated and the Ukrainians highly negatively associated with modernization The higher the levels of modernization as measured by selected indices, the lower is the percentage of Ukrainians in the population. These relationships are not surprising since, inasmuch as traditional Ukrainian areas are characterized by rural agricultural populations—these influence the spatial association of Ukrainians with the indicators of modernization.   Ralph S. Clem, *op. cit.*; 63.

58.   George Z. F Bereday and Jaan Pennar, eds., *The Politics of Soviet Education* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1960), 52.

59.   Allen Kassoff, "Totalitarianism Without Terror," in Richard Little, *op. cit.*, 41-42.

60.   Bereday and Pennar, eds., *Politics of Soviet Education*, 55.

61.   The administered society can be defined as one in which an entrenched ruling group lays claim to exclusive scientific knowledge of social and historical laws and is impelled by a belief not only in the practical desirability, but the moral necessity, of planning, direction, and coordination from above in the name of human welfare and progress.   Allen Kassoff, *op. cit.*, 37.

Global Education : A Critial Analysis

HARVEY G. NEUFELDT & JAMES E. AKENSON.

One of the problems educators face when dealing with educational concepts is the problem of vagueness. In many cases educational concepts have been borrowed from other disciplines without an analysis as to their precise meanings and without a clear understanding as to the limits of their applicability in the classrooms. Furthermore, descriptive statements used to define the concept are often highly selective and value laden. A case in point is the concept, global education.

The purpose of this paper is threefold. The first objective will be to clarify the meaning of global education and to analyze some of its emphasis and value assumptions. The second will be to trace its historical roots in the Reconstructionist philosophy, including the social studies materials of Harold Rugg, and in the "new social studies" of the 1960s. The third purpose will be to analyze several problems both in the concept itself and in its implementation within the schools in the United States and in selected foreign countries. Based on a limited amount of informationa vailable relative to the implementation of global education in foreign countries the paper will conclude with a few comments relative to the tensions in social studies programs between the perceived need to foster nationalism and loyalty to the state on the one hand and an emphasis on the world community and global interdependence on the other.

GLOBAL EDUCATION :
AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT

Global education represents a relatively new addition to educational literature, particularly the social studies. Given the recent emergence of global education there exists imprecision and lack of clarity as to global education's exact characteristics. As John Goodland points out.

> Because concern for global matters is an emerging and not an established goal for educational systems, there are no readily available, comprehensive, self-contained definitions, descriptions, and analyses of what global education is, how it differs from traditional studies of other countries, what its objectives should be, what is now worth endorsing as likely to contribute to these objectives and so on.[1]

The recent emergence of global education results in scattered and speculative writings, as Goodland points out, presenting the views and goals of various individuals and groups rather than concretized, institutionalized curricula patterns repleat with commonly accepted objectives, teaching materials, and accompanying commitment from teachers, administrators, students and parents.[2]

As a recent entre into the educational spectrum, global education must establish an identity different from the emphasis in area studies courses, world history courses, and conventional analyses of foreign cultures and countries. For example, one might ask how the global education approach to the study of Mexico in a fith grade social studies class differs from the usual analysis of Mexico, including map work, the Spanish conquest, and the breaking of the ginate ? Or how does global education differ from a senior high school world history class as it focuses on the international intracacies of the post World War II era ?

Proponents of global education seek to distinguish between global education and the study of international politics viewed from the perspective of the nation state. The latter perspective views the international arena primarily in terms of nation states often hostile to one another, pursuing their national interests through foreign policy conducted by governmental officials and not by the citizenry in general. Governments, and not citizens,

are viewed as having a foreign policy. The purpose of the government's foreign policy is presumably.

> to protect against the dangerous and hostile forces at loose in a world where there are no international police and no courts with binding authority.[3]

International studies, when taught from this perspective, focus on studying a government's foreign policy. The actions and attitudes of foreign governments are analyzed to see to what extent they are a potential threat to one's own country. Knowledge of other countries is viewed as being essential once a nation becomes a global power. The National Defense Education Act reflected this nation-centered approach to a study of foreign nations as it attempted to train specialists of foreign countries and thereby help protect American interests abroad, especially vis-a vis the Soviet Union.[4] Throughout their studies, students are taught to view the world in a "we—they" relationship, to think in terms of "other" countries, "other" cultures, and "other" people.

Proponents of global education also insist that their perspective differs significantly from an approach that is commonly labelled as "area studies." The area studies approach goes beyond the political focus and Western ethnocentricism of the nation-state approach and focuses instead of languages and cultures as alternate ways of viewing the world. Major goals evident in many area studies programs are to promote international understanding and an appreciation for different cultures. The major limitation of the area studies approach for proponents of global education is the omission of the concept of global interdependence. Instead of dividing the world into political compartments, area studies divides it into language and culture compartments. As such, it reinforces "the impression of the world as separate patches of real estate."[5] It fails to adequately address the "we—they" problem. It fosters internationalism but fails to promote "global awareness."[6]

Global education seeks to go beyond the nation-state and area-study approaches and calls for an education that takes man's global interdependence seriously. And although global education as a concept is rarely clearly defined, its promoters emphasize the need for a new perspective or model of the earth, one which comes to terms with the concept of interdependence.

Interdependence is illustrated in global education in several ways. Some writers point to the degree to which events outside the United States impact upon the lives of citizens within the country. Typical writings emphasize such aspects as "resource scarcities, international trade, an increasingly complex international monetary system, shared food supplied, and ecological crisis."[7]

Interdependence is also illustrated by the metaphor, spaceship earth. Instead of talking about nation-states, cultures, or regions, proponents of global education speak of a single unit, spaceship earth. This is emphasized by Gerald Marker, Global education, he asserts,

> is a way of thinking about the world which can be characterized by the notion of 'spaceship-earth' that we 'are all in this thing together', and that the fate of some of us is quickly becoming the fate of all of us.[8]

Others speak of the spaceship earth manned by its inhabitants, the "crew". Only, there is maldistribution of resources among the crew. Some live on the edge of starvation, others live with plenty. As an interdependence based metaphor, spaceship earth points to the need and presumed possibility of relieving the cramped and starving conditions of the less fortunate crew members through a more wise and just management of a limited pool of resources.[9]

Interdependence is further illustrated by the use of the term, "system." As a series of interconnected, interacting parts, a system—be it a social system, biological system or an ecological system—requires each "organ" to perform its function for the maintenance of the health of the total organism. For example, one reads,

> A defensible philosophy of global education postulates that students should be educated about the world as a system and taught that individuals participate in the world system, and their competencies should be cultured towards effective and responsibile participation in the world system.[10]

A similar point is made by Robert Leestma in the following statement :

> It is becoming increasingly apparent that the most realistic way to perceive the world is as a planetary ecosystem—an

interconnected webb of interacting and interdependent physical, biological, and social subsystems.[11]

What is being argued here, by inference, is that one can use the plant and animal kingdoms as an analogy to explain the concepts of system and interdependence by focusing on selected problems facing all of mankind. For example, Gerald Marker focuses on three problems, population, food and energy while the Peabody Center for Economic and Social Studies Education at Nashville stressed five problems, population, food, energy, land use and distribution of wealth and resources.[12]

Having set out their description of spaceship earth, proponents of global education proceed to prescribe what they consider to be logical and necessary implications for education in general and the social studies in particular. As such global education is as much prescriptive as descriptive. Emphasis is placed not only on describing what global education is, but also what global educators are "for." This is evident in the following format for global education as suggested by Donald Morris:

(1) Global education is education for responsible citizenship in an increasingly, interdependent global society.

(2) To become responsible citizens of any level of human society, children must develop some general awareness of a society while increasingly developing more specific perceptions of their involvement in that society.

(3) To educate children for responsible citizenship in our global society we must help them develop a general global awareness while at the same time helping them develop specific perceptions of the many ways in which their own lives are interrelated or interdependent with the lives of other human beings in the world.

(4) Once such initial perceptions of self as integral part of the larger human society begin to develop, we can then facilitate their continued growth and concentrate on the *dynamic* character of responsible citizenship, which blends knowing with doing, perceiving with behaving, and feeling with acting[13]

Several recommendations presumably flow from such views regarding global education.

One recommendation is to promote the concept of human commonality, the notion that "all men are brothers." Global education, Anderson asserts, must help the student to acquire the

capacity to perceive oneself and all other human individuals as members of a single species of life whose members share a common biological status, a common way of adapting to their natural environment, a common history, a common set of biological and psychological needs, common existential concerns, and common social problems.[14]

This emphasis upon commonality stands in contrast to the values implicit in the "nation-state" approach to history, with its stress on national interests.

The second derivative requires students to develop alongside their understanding of commonality a less ethnocentric, a less nationalistic perspective. Although "all men are brothers", writes Robert Leestma, nevertheless "all brothers are different." Consequently, it is essential that educators undertake the

challenge of developing a humanistic education appropriate to the reality of interdependence on an ethically diverse and culturally pluralistic planet with finite natural resources.[15]

What is essential is that teachers do their part in helping correct the problems of "cultural myopia and astigmatism" and thus "better prepare students to cope with the complexities of nationalism and cultural differences on an international scale."[16] It would also appear that what is often suggested here is an approach to values which can best be described as cultural relativity. Students are encouraged to view diverse attitudes and values as being merely different, no one value being right or wrong in itself, only different.

Human commonality and diversity support the third derivative, a just world order. Proponents of global education stress the importance of justice when it comes to sharing the world's scarce resources. It is hoped that an acceptance of the belief that "all men are brothers" but that brothers can be different will lead students to approach global problems with a sense of compassion. However, this compassionate response grounded in a notion of human justice is not devoid of all self interest. An enlightened self interest and a willingness to redress inequities on spaceship

earth will presumably benefit all participants. For example, Barbara Ward's analysis of the global economic system both chastizes the industrialized nations for their niggardly response to Third World problems and points out that there exists potentially lucrative markets in the developing countries for the industrialized states.[17]

An active citizenry, the fourth derivative, flows from the emphasis on justice, commonality and a reduction of ethnocentricism. A two-fold set of assumptions upholds the active-citizen emphasis. First it assumes that individual action can exert an influence which will help alter the course of world events. Second, an active citizenry emphasis holds that the apparatus of nation states can be by-passed so that individual initiatives may alter the course of events regardless of a particular foreign policy stand held by a particular nation state. Active citizenship assumes the need for a set of skills beyond a mere knowledge base. It requires skills and competencies which cannot be achieved solely through an educational methodology based on the assumption that teaching consists primarily in the transmission of knowledge and that knowledge is gained primarily through the mastery of specialized subject matter or disciplines. Proponents of global education reject the compartmentalization of knowledge, drawing from a diverse area including anthropology, sociology, psychology, foreign languages, comparative religions, history, and futuristic studies. But this interdisciplinary knowledge base is never viewed as knowledge for knowledge sake. What is called for is an experiental component in education, where students become active rather than passive participants. As Becker states,

> There is a strong feeling among many proponents of global education that merely having knowledge about and concern for world issues is insufficient, that students must become active.[18]

The prescriptive nature of global education becomes especially evident in this call for an educational program designed to promote "a commitment to action." What is rejected here is not only the assumption that schooling should focus only on the students' cognitive domain. What is also rejected is that schools should be interested primarily in society maintenance. Instead schools, along with each citizen, should become society change agents.[19]

GLOBAL EDUCATION:
ITS HISTORICAL ROOTS

It is precisely in its call for an education designed to promote a commitment to action that global education is most indebted to the Social Reconstructionists. The purpose of this section is to trace global education's historical roots, from the social studies materials of the Reconstructionists through the new social studies materials of the 1960s.

Social studies represents an apparent simple component of the elementary and secondary school curriculum into which the global education approach most readily fits. To the casual observer there exists common sense reasons to study one's family, neighborhood, community, state, nation, and the world. As with global education, the apparent simplicity and straight forwardness of the social studies curriculum in fact masks the social interests, the world view, driving the creators of curricula. An analogous situation, drawn from social theory, may be found in Alvin Ward Gouldner's analysis of Talcott Parsons' "Grand Theory." It revealed that an apparently neutral set of abstract ideas cannot be understood outside of the context in which it evolved.[20] Parsons developed functionalist sociological theory during the 1920s and 30s emphasizing the smooth functioning of mutually dependent institutions. The crisis of the depression and emerging world conflict seemed not to enter into Parsons' smoothly interacting functionalist theory. In reality, however, Parsons defended the existing social system in a complex interplay between his conservative personal biography, the insular setting of Harvard University, and the multiple crisis threatening the United States and the entire world. By stressing the smooth interaction which insured the ongoing stability of a society, Parson's seemingly abstract, neutral value-free theory in fact contained specific assumptions and responses to historically situated conditions. The evolution of social studies curricula, and its relationship to the global education concept, also contains responses to a set of societal issues accompanied with a specific set of responses, ideological predispositions, designed to achieve a particular societal viewpoint through curricular materials. It is to such an analysis which this discussion now turns.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century social studies education evolved into an identifiable segment of the school

curriculum. Through the work of a variety of committees composed of distinguished educators a set of principles and rationale emerged for the theoretical underpinnings and classroom practice of social studies. History and geography yielded some ground to the Problems of Democracy course and an articulation that the social sciences should be included in the curriculum through courses which infused their respective findings. The 1916 Committee on Social Studies report stressed, in part, the need to study events of significance to the student, the need for municipal reform, the responsibilities of citizens, the involvement of students in identifying local problems, and the role of business people in solving the local problems once students identified them and brought them to the business peoples' attention. Lybarger points out that such recommendations for social studies in fact contained a particular social and political view point. Many members of the Committee on Social Studies also held membership in the National Municipal League which advocated the very ideas just mentioned. The National Municipal League advocated positions designed to undermine the big city boss who depended upon immigrant votes for election as well as at-large election of city council persons in order to weaken the socialist vote.

> The discussions of community welfare in both the reports of the Committee on the Social Studies as well as the civic education work of the National Municipal League served the political end of reducing the power of the boss, who usually provided not only many of the immediate needs of city residents such as shelter and food, but also served as legal advisory and sometimes as an employment agency for new arrivals. Where civic education programs could successfully demonstrate to urban children and their parents that services previously available from the boss could be provided more efficiently by other public and private groups, an important source of the boss' strength might be undermind.[21]

In short, social studies demonstrated a reformist, a social reconstructionist thrust while at the same time hiding the ideological interests of the educators who created it. Other dimensions of social studies' evolution in the early twentieth century further reflect the degree to which seemingly neutral concepts actually contained strongly situated ideological interests in structuring

knowledge into a specific format amenable to powerful interest groups.

A mild form of social reconstructionism, an emphasis upon altering society, thus managed to exert itself in elements of social studies curricula during the early twentieth century. As set forth in thinking of persons such as George S. Counts, Theodore Brameld, and Harold Rugg social reconstructionist thought viewed the school as a change agent for the rest of society. Harold Rugg infused a mild social reconstructionist position into an extensive set of social studies curriculum materials for the junior high school. Rugg thought that social studies curriculum neglected critical events such as the rise of the corporation and industrialism and ignored pressing contemporary problems such as the depression. Developed during the 1920s the Rugg materials reflected a mild social reconstructionist viewpoint unique for its time as evident in the following publication :

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING YOUTH:
TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

The author firmly believes that young Americans can be given an appreciation of the significant contemporary problems of living together. Current conditions in America throw into sharp relief the critical need of teaching our youth to understand American life and its relation to the modern world. Our schools are confronted with the difficult task of educating pupils to become informed, thinking citizens. During the past 150 years the rapid development of industrial civilization has produced problems of living together that baffle even the keenest adult minds.

It is of the utmost importance that schools bend every effort to introduce our young people to the chief conditions and problems which will confront them as citizens of the world. That is the essential purpose of the new unified course in the social studies.[22]

Rugg admitted to contemporary problems, acknowledged rapid social change, foresaw continued rapid change and accompanying dilemma and felt that social studies should help students solve the problems. While hardly an extreme stand of social reconstruction as that of Counts or Brameld, *Our Country and Our*

People and the entire Rugg series represented a step away from the purely societal maintenance viewpoint of the early social studies eductators. Global education likewise focuses upon world problems, seeks solutions, and hopes that classroom instruction raises an awareness of the problem and a willingness to work toward solution to the problems.

Most significantly from the current global education perspective stands the interest of the Rugg materials in establishing the concept of interdependence between the United States and the rest of the world. Interdependence suggests that a system of interacting, mutually dependent elements exists within the world as opposed to a self-sustaining, totally independent nation. Chapter 28 of *Our Country and Our People* deals with "How the People of the United States Depend Upon Other Countries." The introductory paragraph states that "one would conclude that the United States is a self-sufficient country." A counter balance emerges asking "But is this true? If all trade were cut off from other parts of the world, could the people of the United States go on living their comfortable lives?"[23] The chapter then identifies that steel requires manganese, nickel, vanadium, and tungsten which are found in limited quantities in the United States and must be imported.

> This means that we depend upon some other country as well as upon world wide systems of transportation and communication...not again how completely we depend on the far corners of the earth for all these minerals : on Russia, India, Africa, China, South America, and many countries of Europe. Every continent helps to furnish something for our steel railroad rails, for our steel bridges, and for the steel framework of our apartment houses, school houses, theatres and motionpicture houses.[24]

Other examples of interdependence deal with the telephone, the electric motor, and rubber as well as a variety of agricultural products. Given a forty year span since *Our Country and Our People* graced the market place it reads surprisingly accurate in its conceptual thrust. Given different examples and updated statistics Rugg's efforts would come off rather well today. The Rugg account, like most contemporary texts, fails to address the question of who controls the various resources within individual countries and the degree to which the system of interdependent trade unduly benefits particular countries, groups, and individuals.

The distribution of wealth, while neglected within the description of an America caught up in an interdependent world system, does come to light in the following chapter, "The American Standard of Living." Students encounter information stating that in 1929 half of the 27,500,000 families in the United States had less than $1700 worth of goods and services, 6,000,000 received less than $1000, and 2,000,000 families less than $5.00, At the same time the disparity becomes clear as students learn that 631,000 families had an income of more than $10,000.[25]

Following a discussion of how $1700 could be utilized the text asks:

> Such exact investigation give us a very good idea of what a family was able to get if it received as much as $1700 a year. But, remember, many millions of our families had *less* than that; they had *fewer* things of course, then those we have listed.

> What do you think of the *actual* 'standard of living' which these families secured? Is such a standard good enough for people who live in a 'land of opportunity?'[26]

The text states that such a standard is not good enough and then balances the thought with a statement that it is far better than in other lands. Moving from 1929 the depression presents information dealing with the depression and the effects upon workers' lives. In a vignette the Eaton family discusses the woes of unemployment. At one point in the vignette Mrs. Eaton comments upon the fact that 10,000,000 workers remain unemployed.

> 'Yes,' exclaimed her mother, 'there is a long article about it in the newspaper. He said the United States is the richest country one arth; it has so much land and other resources, so many workers, factories, and so on, that there should be no need for any of our people to be unemployed.'[27]

At the end of the chapter students read the admonishment that the question of unemployment, starvation, and insecure living standards represent a question for which "there is no more important question for American youth to try to answer."[28] A concluding paragraph advises students that making the immigrants' dream of the promised land come true is America's greatest problem indeed "*your* greatest problem for study during your remaining school years."[29] Although failing to take a specific stand on how the

questions of maldistribution could be answered *Our Country* and *Our People* take an initial step characteristic of moderate reconstructionists to atleast reveal disparities and raise questions. Such moderation in fact caused the Rugg materials to experience attacks by conservative groups during the 1920s and 30s.[30]

Modest as Rugg's social studies materials actually seem their content and assumptions undergird much of what became known in the 1960s as the "new social studies." Significantly, the "new social studies" exhibited certain characteristics common to the dominant global education philosophy. One of the curriculum development projects of the 1960s, Minnesota Project Social Studies, provides an interesting example. Minnesota Project social studies represents an important example of efforts to revise cocial studies curriculum and has been utilized in part on global education curriculum. A capsule overview of the "new social studies" identified the belief that: 1) contributions from social scientific disciplines should be infused to make for a more interesting and accurate view of human behavior, 2) history and geography should not dominate social studies to the exclusion of disciplines such as economics, sociology, and anthropology, and political science, 3) inquiry skills and concepts from the disciplines should interact as students deal with the social world, and 4) cross cultural comparisons should be integral to the social studies curriculum begining in primary grades. Such thoughts fit comfortably with reconstructionist Rugg's desire to bring social scientific knowledge to reduce the domination of history and geography, update social studies to be more accurate, and help students examine problems facing contemporary society. A detailed description of Minnesota Project Social Studies offers further insight into the Rugg, "new social studies,"and global education continuum.

Minnesota Project Social Studies represented one of numerous social studies curriculum development projects funded by the United States government during the early 1960s. The Minnesota materials attempted to address a host of perceived ills in social studies curriculum.

Demands for curricular revision have been brought about a number of developments, most notable have been changes taking place in society. The present secondary school curriculum, with but few modifications, grew out of a commission report made in 1916. The elementary school program

has changed much more since that time, but it too suffers from a failure to keep up with societal changes. The social science curriculum must take account of changes in the world scene in which new countries and areas have become of great international significance, in which new ideological conflicts and new social, economic, and political upheaveals are revolutionizing the world. An increase in culture contact makes a knowledge of world affairs far more important than it was in 1916.[31]

Through a sequentially structured Kindergarten through twelfth grade social studies the Minnesota project created materials designed to bring social scientific knowledge, concepts, and modes of inquiry to bear in a manner which would bring a cross cultural perspective throughout the curriculum. Kindergarten children would experience topics such as *Our Global Earth* and *A World of Many People* such that their first experiences would make clear the diversity of human behavior. Junior high students dealt with sociology including a heavy emphasis upon the role of socialization as well as racial stereotypes. Senior high students dealt with topics such as Russian and Chinese history as well as units on the Middle East. In developing a comprehensive Kindergarten through twelfth grade social studies curriculum there existed a whole series of assumptions about contemporary problems, assumptions about the manner in which children and young adults should encounter ideas, and the implicit world order toward which social studies curriculum should prepare students.

The sequence of the Minnesota materials reveals a great deal about the modifications which Minnesota developers believed necessary for an effective social studies curriculum. For the Minnesota project social studies began in Kindergarten and included an orientation to the world as well as exploration of the immediate local environment. Kindergarten units include *The Earth as the Home of Man, A World of Many peoples, Our Global Earth, A Home of Varied Resources,* and *Man Changes the Earth.* Two of the units merit scrutiny in light of their implications from a global education perspective. *A World of Many Peoples* utilizes children's literature to deal with a variety of cultures throughout the world. Such an emphasis seeks to develop an awareness of "diversity and upon the psychic unity of mankind."[32] In a *Home of Varied Resources* activities include dealing with oil,

how oil is produced, in what countries, and how it comes to the filling station. The teacher's resource guide specifically suggests marking Venezuela and the Persian Gulf area on a world map.[33] The use of food is suggested for teaching the concept of interdependence.

> Arrange a tasting party in school. As a snack, provide children with a variety of foods from far away. Many of these foods can be found in the local supermarkets. Some will be found in gourmet or specialty shops. Others can be purchased in foreign food shops that are available in many communities. Foods to be tasted can include : Pineapple from Hawaii, Mandarin oranges from Japan, Lychee (dried or canned) from Hong Kong, Coconuts from anywhere in the tropics, Bananas from Latin America, Cheese from France, Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, Swiss chocolate and many more.[34]

Following the tasting, the world map should be utilized with pictures to "Stress the fact that many of the foods we eat...come from far-away lands, as do many of the other products we use regularly.".[5] Diversity, psychic unity, and interdependence represent key concepts underlying the MPSS Kindergarten units and the entire Minnesota curriculum. Interdependence as developed in the Kindergarten activities begins as immediate orientation to the rest of the world in a neutral systems theory format: The world consists of a series of interacting parts (countries). Interdependence also implies diversity of the cultures involved in the process. The psychic unity of mankind suggests certain values made more explicit in the Minnesota background paper, "The Role of the Social Studies in Developing Values." Under "Attitudes Growing Out of Knowledge of the Social Sciences," two statements suggest a meaning to the psychic unity of mankind.

1. Believes that people of different interests, abilities, and background can contribute to American society.

2. Appreciates and respects the cultural contributions of other countries, races, and religions.[36]

Set within the early 1960s and developed by professors at a major university in the North such statements suggest a response to civil rights related concerns as well as an enlightened world view. The existence of interdependence and the positive stress of contributions

by other cultural groups fits comfortably with major assumptions of the global education thrust. The congruence of the Minnesota materials to the Rugg materials appears clear and represents a more comprehensive thrust across the total span of elementary and secondary social studies.

The elementary grades, 1-6, follow a conceptually ordered format modifying the expanding environments framework of family, school, neighborhood, community, state, nation, western hemisphere, and eastern hemisphere. Rather than focusing on the immediately visible and present family of children, the Minnesota materials devotes grades one and two to a study of *Families Around the World*. Families studied in the two year sequence include the Hopi, Chippewa, Quechua of Peru, Japan, Colonial Family of Boston, Moscow, the Hausa of Nigeria, and the Israeli Kibbutz. The anthropological, cross cultural approach emphasizes the different forms of family structure, the diversity of methods through which wants and needs may be met, and the underlying common needs of all persons. The Hopi family structure offers children a view of a matriliniar structure in which sex roles and values differ from that of American children in a nuclear family. Similarly, the Japanese family offered an example "characterized by an extended patrilineal and patrilocal family."[37] In determining the content of the two year *Families Around The World* sequence the diversity of human culture represented the foremost concern of the Minnesota Project developers. The *Teacher's Guide to the Two Year Sequence in Grades One and Two on Families Around The World* lists all of the inquiry skills, concepts, and generalizations for each of the eight units. The generalization, "The people of the world are interdependent," only applies to the Soviet and Hausa units.[38] However, the generalization, "Families differ widely from society to society as to how they are organized (in their structure)," receives emphasis in each of the eight units.[39] A large number of generalizations dealing with common human needs being satisfied through different cultural forms are included. Thus, a unit on families deals with "In all societies people are expected to behave in certain ways and not to behave in certain ways; they are expected to believe that certain things are good and certain things are bad."[40] From a global education perspective such emphasis fulfills only a limited number of criteria. Issues related to energy, population, control of resources, food production, and world hunger receive no substantive attention throughout the two year

sequence. Interdependence receives brief consideration in two units. The anthropological emphasis while valuable represents but one emphasis, one aspect related to a global education emphasis. Similar remarks apply to the third and fourth grade units geared to communities as well as fifth and sixth dealing with regions and United States history. The treatment developed for communities ranging from a California Gold Mining Camp to the Trobriand Islanders merits praise as social studies but fails to fit the scope of needs developed in the global education thread.

The structure of the Minnesota materials and their relationship to the global education concept relates directly to the current use of the term global education by many social studies practitioners. Global education readily appeals to persons sympathetic or committed to social studies curricula similar to the Minnesota materials. The Peabody "Cultural Understandings for Global Citizens" project utilizes social studies consultants familiar with and committed to the Minnesota materials. Thus the same consultant authorized an article in an issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education* titled "A Global Education Program Can Make A Difference" which evaluated a revised version of the Minnesota materials as an example of global education. The research study compared experimental and control groups of third graders. The experimental group included third grade children exposed to a MPSS revision for three years. One control group included third grade children exposed to a different, well-defined social studies program. A second control group included third grade children who did not have a continuous, well-defined social studies program.[41] Using three different instruments related to perceptions of other nations and cultures the author concluded :

1. A carefully designed primary grade social studies program with a strong global education dimension can have a significant impact on the formation of atitudes that children develop toward foreign peoples.

2. A carefully designed primary grade social studies program with a strong global education dimension can have a significant effect on the understanding that children develop of other nations and other peoples.[42]

The Describing Nations test thus saw significant differences in favor of the experimental group in choosing adjectives such as "friendly," "happy," and "peaceful." Similar results emerged

from an evaluation of the Minnesota primary grade materials undertaken during the official life-span of the Minnesota project. Berg found that primary grade children exposed to Minnesota materials exhibited significantly higher responses noting similarities between cultures, cultural use of the environment, and patterns of culture as learned behavior.[43] Most significantly, the actual content of the Minnesota materials stresses anthropological emphasis upon cross cultural examples within the primary grades. Yet the salient concepts of global education—interdependence, population, energy, world food production, world hunger, and world resources— represent but a small fraction of the total content within the Minnesota materials.

The intellectual distance necessary to travel from a positive emphasis on other cultures to claiming the Minnesota materials represent global education appears to be short. A detailed examination of a global education project makes the six concepts obvious as a unifying force within a curriculum structure.

The 1979-80 academic year witnessed federal funding to Peabody College of "Tennessee State Network Project for Cultural Understandings For Global Citizens." The structure of the Peabody global education project followed a plan in which : 1) The Peabody Center for Economics and Social Studies Education staff trained university professors and school system supervisors from throughout Tennessee in the theory and classroom practice of global education, 2) Each professor or supervisor recruited ten elementary and/or secondary teachers to train in the global education approach, and 3) Classroom teachers would implement global education with their students and provide feedback data. Given the Peabody structure some 3600 students and 120 teachers implemented global education throughout Tennessee.

The basic orientation of what constitutes global education becomes immediately obvious in the "spaceship earth" analogy presented in the introduction of the Peabody project final report.

You are one of the nearly four billion passengers now on spaceship earth as it slowly makes its appointed rounds in space. Soon there will be more of us abroad this tiny craft. In a short time there will be four billion of us. Then five billion. Then six billion, and then—more ?

We are going to have to learn to live together or perish together. Our choices are limited; our alternatives few. It is

international commnnity or international chaos.   It is Inter-
national society—or international suicide or possibly one or
more alternatives—the   precarious   position of competetive
coexistence.

Teaching about the increasing interdependence of nations,
global hunger and poverty, and problems of development of
more than three fourths of the world's people is important
if one wishes to prepare students for the   worid of tomorrow.
Today's students must begin to develop an awareness of global
community, for within another generation such an awareness
may be essential for human survival.[44]

Following the   establishment of grave issues which an inter-
dependent world should adress the broad oulines of the Peabody
definition of global education emerges :

The term global education has a variety of meanings to
different individuals.   Some believe it to be the study of cultures,
particularly those in the news.   Others think of it as a study of
the world as a human family.   What is the specific content of
global education?   Is there a structure to global education?...

Global education for the Tennessee Project would focus on
five critical areas of study which would be the following:

1. Global problems-knowledge about the problems of
population, energy, resources, land use, food supply and distri-
bution, and distribution of wealth and resources.

2. Cultural studies-methods of comparing and contrasting
different cultures of the world.

3. Teaching strategies-to demonstrate the use of problem
solving, decision making and valuing as they apply to cultural
studies and global problems.

4. Concept development-develop the global education
concepts of interdepenedence, cultural diversity, scarcity, con-
flict, basic human rights, and communication.

5. Resources—assess and select appropriate published
materials and the utilization of conmunity resources.[45]

Herein, lie a variety ofconstructs regarding the content, teaching
procedures, and assumptions of world view which set off global
eduction from purely conventional approaches to study of coun-

tries, cultures, or regions as they occur in elementary and secondary schools. The specifics of the Peabody project furthe relucidate a social reconstructionist rationale, conections to the "new social studies" of the 1960s, and compatibility with the Rugg heritage.

The social reconstructionsit dimension of global education emerges throughout the conduct of Peabody project and in the writings of educators expressing compatible thoughts. Societal maintennance can hardly be considered adequate when the global problems visit havoc on the lives of countless men, women and children and when the interdependence of the western world with the third world holds the spectre of disrupting existing living standards. Both altruistic compassion and enlightened self-interest emerged within the Peabody project. Teacher trainers made up of university and school system administrators read a variety of material and developed teaching materials consistent with the dual focus. Peabody teacher trainers read materials exemplified by Barbara Ward's "Progress For a Small Planet." Essentially, Ward argues that the developed nations receive more than they give to the third world in aid and trade and that ethical and practical considerations make a "Marshall" plan for the third world desireable.

> If today, with a com bination of vision and common sense, the rich nations couple their firm offer of doubled resource transfers with a complete readiness to discuss the terms, the aims, the institutions, the audit, and the staffing of a sustained plan of world development and world conservation—a plan of equal interest and importance to all parties to the venture—then the hesitations and resentments of the beneficiaries would be at least sufficently lessoned for a genuine dialogue of equals to be engaged.[46]

Within world's scenario the stimulus provided by Western assistance would avoid the heating up of their respective economies such that inflation takes an excessive toll. Instead, the third world would create more employment for itself and for developed nations and "generate genuinely new resources and by doing so exercise the counter-inflationary pressure of providing a rising volume of goods to match rising purchasing power.,"[47] The feasibility of Ward's proposal need not be examined critically at this point. The significance of Ward's apparent vision fits comfortably with the Peabody project thrust that there exists a

global system, problems related to it need to be solved, and values appropriate to a cooperative, interdependent world view need to be developed. Nowhere in the rationale and conduct of the Peabody project did a specific reconstructionist position such as ward's emerge, but the points of congruence between Ward's basic assertions and the Peabody conceptual thrust may be readily observed. Finally, the Peabody emphasis with its reconstructionist thrust flows smoothly out of the 1960s heritage of the new social studies. In such up-to-date, "relevent" content with "real world" overtones the lineage of the new social studies evolves.

Further lineage to the new social studies may be found in the emphasis upon "problem solving, decision making, and valuing as they apply to cultural studies and global problems." Within the Peabody project special attention emerged in the analysis of "wants and needs" as a basic conceptual tool through which students could establish a frame of reference to evaluate the possible conditions and solutions to world problems. Subsequently, problem solving situations could be structured around the global problems. In one set of lessons designed by a Peabody teacher trainer one class of third graders analyzed world hunger proplems in light of the drift toward genetic uniformity in high yield varieties. The third graders postulated that growing high yield varieties would definitely help the third world countries meet their food requirements. Through simulated comparisons of the actual yields of high yield varieties versus lower yielding but disease resistant strains the third graders realized that simple solu io is do not always exist. Similarly, third graders dealt with a set of lessons developed for the project dealing with Mexico from the global education perspective. Lessons dealing with the Mexican population growth, social structure, poverty, and the appropriate developmental uses of oil shaped the Mexican unit. The anecdotal record of one teacher reflects the style and input of global education.

Learning Activity: Chart in Mexican Social Structure and Mexican Job Pie.

Objectives: To show the division of the three social classes and which one was the largest. Also, to show with the job pie that there are not enough jobs to go around.

Student response: This activity went over really well. At the

end of the lesson the children felt that it was the responsibility of the rich to help the poor.

Teacher Reaction: I was pleased at their reaction to this activity. I was shocked at the fact that they could come up with so many different ideas.[48]

Other teaching activities in the elementary grades utilized world hunger simulations to deal with what can and should be done to solve the hunger crisies. Primary grade children even dealt with the breast milk vs. Nestle Infant formula controversy as it applies to the third world. Such teaching activities focused upon problem solving, values, and decision making. The designers of the described activities themselves received their graduate education from institutions involved with the new social studies. The transition to a more tightly focused utilization of problem solving values, decision making, (and the implicit supporting inquiry skills) to the global education framework represented a natural transition from more diffuse cultural analyses. Hence, the Mexico lessons did not emphasize the usual pinata, sombrero, siestas, singing of La Cucaracha, and pictures of burros so common to instructional units. Global education concepts can provide a definitive structure beyond the common curricular emphasis.

Global education then fits within a historical tradition through which social studies curriculum developed after the turn of the century. Global education evolved from the Social Reconstructionist sentiments of education such as Harold Rugg; it was refined in post World War II affluence of the "new social studies" and given distinct identity in the global crisis of the 1970s. The lineage from which global education springs asserts an optimistic role for the impact of schooling upon the ultimate destiny of humankind. However, such a profound impact assumes the delivery of global education with effectiveness transcending a host of problems besetting those who would alter the institutional mission of schools. Global education faces problems achieving its missions, problems in need of analysis.

GLOBAL EDUCATION: PROBLEMS WITH THE CONCEPT

In their attempt to infuse a global dimension into the curriculum, proponents of global education must deal successfully

with several problems. These fall into two major categories: 1) problems derived from the concept itself, and 2) problems derived from the social reconstructionist role of the school functioning as a change agent. Problems associated with global education demand analysis of the consistency between concepts such as *spaceship earth* and its supporting metaphors. Problems associated with the social reconstructionist thrust demand analysis of the manner in which schooling in a world wide basis can transcend the very national constituencies which give schools their existence.

Spaceship *earth* provides global education with a key model containing sentiments or values as well as a description of reality. What is not clear is to what extent the *spaceship earth* model serves as a descriptive or prescriptive statement about human relationships. Inherent within the *spaceship earth* model are value ladened concepts such as cooperation, non-exploitaion, mutual reciprocity between people, respect for diversity and the acceptance of commonality. These prescribe what ought to be but the model is often portrayed as a picture of the world as it is. The confusion between descriptive and prescriptive statements is merely heightened when analogies, such as the ecosystem, are drawn from the natural sciences. What needs to be emphasized is the fact that the anology from nature itself does not assume cooperation, mutual reciprocity, a sense of justice and a feeling of compassion. The ecosystem analogy merely describes a system of interacting components existing in a state of equilibruim. The relationship, for example, between the minnow and the fish or the worm and the bird hardly imply truths about justice and non-exploitation. Analogies do not necessarily prove a point, at best they only offer potential insight. Borrowing analogies often occurs with a selectivity ignoring the concepts, theories, and modes of inquiry crucial to the discipline from which the borrowing took place. A case in point is the ecological model. What proponents of global education borrow from ecology are such aspects as interdependence and equilibruim. What they fail to point out, however, is that a rough equilibruim is partly maintained in nature by plants and animals destroying one another. Biologists can speak of equilibrium in the plant and animal kingdoms but not of justice or compassion.

Spaceship *earth*, while itself is supported by ecosystems concepts, depends on value orientations for its thrust rather than

logic or evidence. One could, with the same facts and with the analogy from nature, justify a totally different perspective or model of the universe. This model has commonly been designated as the *lifeboat model*, and the values flowing from it as *lifeboat ethics*. The lifeboat metaphor is ably presented by Garrett Hardin. According to this metaphor, each rich nation is portrayed as a sovereign lifeboat comparatively well stocked with supplies. The world's poor are envisioned as being adrift on much more crowded lifeboats. Periodically, some of the world's poor fall overboard and call on the rich for help. However, there is not room for all the swimmers in the life boats of the rich. Each lifeboat or nation has only so many resources; only so much "carrying capacity." Decisions have to be made as to which swimmers, if any, to rescue. *Lifeboat ethics* questions the wisdom of policies which though well intended, fail to adequately address the problem of over population in a world of limited resources. As Hardin asserts,

> Without a world government that is sovereign in reproductive matters mankind lives, in fact, on a number of sovereign lifeboats. For the forseable future survival demands that we govern our actions by the ethics of a lifeboat. Posterity will be ill served if we do not.[49]

The *lifeboat model* could also draw from biology, borrowing such concepts as balance or equilibrium and the predatory side of nature. The point to be made here is not to defend Hardin's model. Rather what is being argued is that analogies drawn from biology are highly selective and presciptive.

A diffused knowledge base constitutes a second problem with the global education concept. Although there is a heavy emphasis on skills, attitudes and values rather than on the mastering of discrete bits of knowledge, nevertheless some knowledge is essential in global education for effective decision-making. The knowledge base in global education is drawn from a wide assortment of subjects or areas including ecology, anthropology, psychology, political science, comparative religions, futuristic subjects and somewhat from history. Such a diverse knowledge base can easily accentuate the weakness related to the convenient yet incomplete borrowing in the *spaceship earth* model. It is doubtful whether many teachers have the background and skills necessary

for making informed judgment in such complex issues as population and food supplies. It remains to be seen whether global education will achieve the degree of rigor necessary to provide it with academic respectability or whether it will degenerate into little more than buzz sessions where well intentioned individuals will share their opinions and call it knowledge. At present it would appear that proponents of global education have concentrated on the problem of getting their students' hearts in the right place, what remains to be seen is whether or not their heads' will be grounded on a sound epistemology.

A third difficulty with global education rests in its emphasis upon cultural and value relativity. One overriding value within global education is ' the preservation and promotion of cultural pluralism"[50] in correcting "cultural myopia and astigmatism." However, alongside its stress on pluralism, global education also venerates commonality. What is not recognized is the possible tensions between these two values. Commonality places a limit on cultural and value relativity. It rules out those values which tend to divide mankind. Value relativity also has its problems when it comes to finding solutions for the world's problems. Global education stresses the importance of an active citizenry, committed to action. Students may well discover that some of the values of other cultures serve as roadblocks when it comes to solving selected problems. For example, solutions to over population often conflict with the value some cultures place on large families. What is lacking in the literature on global education is criteria or guidelines for inspecting the reasonableness of a particular value. What is also lacking is a standard for making judgments when two values are in tension or conflict.

A fourth problem in global education is the potential conflict social studies teachers will face between the need to create support for one's own national government and the desire to create support for democratic values and justice world-wide. The assumption is that people can have loyalities to various groups, including the family, the community, the nation but also to *spaceship earth.* It is assumed that loyalty to *spaceship earth* will not erode loyalty to one's own country. At best this is only a hope. Research suggests

that a system which effectively educates its students toward

support for democratic values may not be equally effective in promoting support for the national government, and vice versa.[51]

It may well be that future research will suggest a similar outcome when educating students toward support for justice and compassion for all peoples on *spaceship earth*.

There is little evidence to suggest that social studies teachers in countries outside the United States have successfully solved the problem of creating loyalty to both the nation-state and *spaceship earth*. In his 1973 publication, James Becker criticized nations for their failure "to come to grips with the imperatives of globalism" in their educational programs. Each country, he observed,

> seems to be educating its young toward the preservation and expansion of national power.[52]

An analysis of a recent publication describing developments in social studies programs in several countries including the Federal Republic of Germany, England, Thailand and Nigeria would suggest that Becker's criticism is still valid today.

The tension between creating loyalty to the nation-state and to *spaceship earth* is especially evident in Nigeria. According to Vincent O. Onyabe, since Nigeria is a developing nation composed of over 240 ethnic groups, the major thrust of Nigeria's educational program, including the social studies, is to

> foster Nigerian unity with an emphasis on the common ties that unite us in our unity.

Although the social studies curricula do include units on peoples of other lands, the emphasis is clearly on promoting unity in and loyalty to the nation state.

Similar patterns to Nigeria are evident in other countries as well. Thailand's new educational program, Curriculum 78, officially in force since 1978, included several units on foreign countries and global problems such as population. However, the "overaching goal" remains the promotion of "individual, community and national development."[54] It might be argued that developing and emerging nations need to stress national loyalty for the present due to their tribal and ethnic diversions and to their relatively

short history as independent political states. However, when one switches from the developing nations to European countries such as England and the Federal Republic of Germany, the focus on the nation state remains the overaching goal in social studies units. The report from England is critical of a lack of an international perspective or even an European perspective in the nation's social studies curricula. Although a movement for global education, led by small bands of enthusiasts is discernible, neverthless it consists of little more than

peripheral, low-status activities fighting for time and recognition in the mainstream curriculum.[55]

The report from the Federal Republic of Germany breifly discusses research underway within the country linking Kohlberg's ideas on moral development to theories of history and society. Implicit in this research effort is

a concern to develop curricula that have relevance beyond the boundaries of a single nation, that might contribute to a 'one-world' conception of citizenship education.[51]

The major thrust of Germany's social studies curricula remains, however, more nationally than globally focused.

The educators' limited success in infusing global perspectives into social studies programs in both developing and industrialized countries merely highlights the difficulties of using schools as change agents in society. It is precisely in this respect that proponents of global education need to pay more attention to history. As was pointed out previously, global education has its historical roots in the educational theories of Social Reconstructionism. Like the Reconstructionists before them, they too call upon the schools to dare to build a new society. Becker hopes that

a system of education may make important contributions to the emerging global society.

Designed to promote the idea of humanity: to connect man to man, global education should help people adapt to a world community.[57]

Robert Leestma provides an even more explicit statement on the significant impact schools can have on changing society and the world as evident in the following statement :

> If most teachers have the opportunity to become aware of the global facts of life and then set about doing what they can within their own professional and community contexts, there is little doubt that schools can make a significant difference in how the emerging generations of citizens meet the global issues of humanity and contribute to shaping the future in which the human race will share a common destiny,[58]

This assumes that knowledge is power and that it will be utilized to create a future which incorporates the values inherent within the *spaceship earth* model.

It would appear that proponents of global education have learned more from the Social Reconstructionists' theories than from their history. They have borrowed the assumptions that knowledge is not neutral, and that schools must move beyond assuming the society maintenance role to becoming social change agents. What is overlooked is the success or failure which the Social Reconstructionists realized when it came to translating their theories into reality. Jan Tucker underscores this point in his excellent discussion on social studies coming to terms with a global revolution of rising expectations in a world of limited resources. Tucker poses the question, "Dare the Social Studies Help to Build a New Social Order?" His answer is at best a qualified yes with notes of caution. First, there is the caution from history. The Social Reconstructionists had their theories. But as Tucker States.

> Intellectual ferment was one thing; what was happening in the schools was another.[59]

Most teachers never read, let alone implemented the Reconstructionists' agendas.

The second note of caution concerns the possible use or misuse of global education. Tucker warns that even if global perspectives were to be infused into the curriculum, they could be used for different purposes than those advocated in the *spaceship earth* model. "It is native" he states, "to assume that only one global perspective will emerge." A global perspective

> based upon the assumptions of finite resources, could conceivably take a hard line toward the poor nations and the poor within the industrialized nations.[60]

In short, a global perspective could be used to advocate policies based on the *lifeboat* rather than the *spaceship earth* model. Educational history is complete with examples of educational innovations proposed by reformists only to be implemented and utilized by different groups for society maintenance purposes.

CONCLUSIONS

Global education springs from specific historical contexts and continues on an evolutionary path searching for maturity. To date, the concept still suffers from vagueness. The adoption of global education by a large number of educators and its infusion into the social studies curriculum, or into the entire school outlook, depends upon a variety of pressures independent of the predispositions of those persons advocating global education. Those who advocate global education will probably experience frustration with the inability of actual school usage to produce the social reconstructionist impact desired. At best the results may raise consciousness and develop a latent willingness for children and young adults to accept and support initiatives designed by governmental and private agencies to at least reduce the most glaring inequities causing human misery. Given the remarkable ability of schools to absorb initiatives and only slightly alter their "course", a strong social reconstructionist goal for global education may be unattainable. Given the difficulty of translating sentiments into acceptable policy among nations even the active citizens committed to *spaceship earth* will probably experience frustration. Global education represents an educational theory appropriate to the late 20th century. It remains to be seen whether its grasp and reach coincide.

FOOTNOTES

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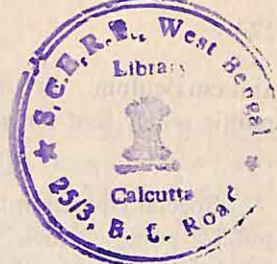
Education of the Handicapped in
International Perspective :
A Survey of Literature

LARRY R. MARSHMAN & MELANIE B. STEPHENS

The education of handicapped children, referred to as special education in this study, should concern not only those whose lives are directly touched by a handicapped child, but every person who is concerned about the rights of mankind. It is through a widespread and developing public policy for which the education system of countries throughout the world have been a primary instrument of implementation that special education for the handicapped has become a subject of international discussion (Fink, 1978). Mainstreaming, education of the handicapped child in regular education settings whenever possible, is a subject on longer limited to any single or isolated nation or region. Problems of diagnosis, classification, and curriculum are pervasive issues not confined within natural or political boundaries. Since handicapping conditions occur in every social and economic classification and in every region throughout the world, educators around the globe are encountering the need for special education in almost all settings.

This study attempts an examination, by review of literature, of components of special education programs common to systems in most lands. Each special education system operates under a definition that describes the direction and limits of its service. Other components that are necessary to all special education are diagnostics, placement, classification, instructional arrangements,

and curriculum. Setting the essential character of programs is the public policy that undergirds special education.

PUBLIC POLICY

Special education is the result, as well as an instrument, of the public policy which determines the vigor of the program, its emphases, and the nature of its procedures. Public policy shapes special education which in turn provides the programs for education of the handicapped. Examination of laws, levels of administration, and practices of public funding are used to assess the direction of prevalent public policy toward special education.

LEGISLATION

While much of the western world has used legislation to bring handicapped children under the protection of compulsory attendance laws, a number of nations still lack legislation requiring educational programs for handicapped children on a basis comparable to that for regular grade pupils. Finland's act on special care for the mentally handicapped contains the possibility of exempting the mentally retarded from compulsory education. Until a curriculum for the retarded is available, local school authorities can excuse themselves from educating the mentally retarded, ignoring the rights of the handicapped, and leaving their needs unmet (Pietila, 1978).

In contrast, Norway, as early as 1951, implemented a policy that gave all children the right to an education in a regular or special school in their geographic area of residence (Cunningham, 1977). Similarly, the Netherlands has a compulsory education law that requires handicapped children to attend school (Special Education in the Netherlands, 1978).

Other countries have established rights to education through removal of political and civil restrictions. The Soviet Union, according to Lubovsky (1974), extends public benefits to the handicapped rather than legislating specifically in the area of special education. A similar situation has occurred in Sweden. While Sweden has one of the world's most progressive approaches to provision of special education, there is no general law to secure the rights of the handicapped. The handicapped are assumed to have the same rights as other people and special paragraphs are added to certain laws which require clarification. An exception is an act giving full responsibility for

the education of mentally retarded persons to country councils (Swedish Institute, Note 6). Rights of the handicapped to education in the German Democratic Republic are protected by the constitution, labor code, health policies, social policies (Artikel Kommentare, Note 7), and by a list of rights (Nader, 1978). In these cases, which feature rather advanced programs, a favorable public policy of long duration seems to meet the needs of the handicapped without the need for special statutes.

A policy in favor of mainstreaming is strongly expressed in Sweden (Ljunggren, 1979), but the same policy receives more guarded expression in the legislation of England and Scotland. However, a new public act was recently passed which promises to reshape British policy. In England, handicapped children are to be educated in regular schools if practical, compatible with the instruction of the school, and not unreasonably expensive (Crabtree, 1977). Under Scotland's 1974 legislation, several regional authorities have developed their separate plans for integrating special and regular education (Broadhead, 1979). In both the British lands, the stated public policies favor integration but the action of local education authorities has denied implementation of those directions. The result is a situation calling for stronger legislation.

The Republic of China, Korea, and Japan all have legislation stating a public responsibility for special education (Kuo, 1979; Kin, 1970; Ogama, 1978).

Research in this realm perhaps encounters questions on the matter of bringing public policy to effect through law. Must legal/civil rights of the handicapped further be guaranteed by the constitution as supporters of the "Equal Rights Amendment" contend is necessary for women in the United States ? Must the people of the United States and other countries with similar guarantors of rights seek specific constitutional protection in order to realize appropriate expression of public policy? On the contrary, would careful research find that public policy for the handicapped best is implemented without special law but under a system that assumes full rights are due all citizens ?

ADMINISTRATION

This review found a wide range of approaches to administration and no consistent connection between approach and

sophistication or type of program. The predominant system seems to be administration by local education authorities. A few countries feature a national system. Indeed, several nation have established strong national offices or bureaus of special education. In a number of countries, various aspects of control and in certain cases, responsibilities for special education, are shared by several agencies.

LOCAL—The task of carrying out policies and directives and even the making of policy, in certain cases, is the responsibility of local levels of education in Switzerland, Scotland, England, Australia, Japan, the Republic of China, Sweden, and Canada (Bodenman, 1979; Broadhead, 1979; Crabtree, 1977; Drummond, 1978: Kobayashi, 1976; Kuo, 1979; Lundstrom, 1969; Murray-Register, 1981). The Department of Social Services of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the Department of Health, with the Ministry of Education, have the responsibility for special education programs in the Republic of China while development and application of the programs are delegated to the local educational authorities (Kuo, 1979). Prefectural education boards are responsible for special schools in Japan except those for the severely handicapped, which are under the welfare service instead of education (Kobayashi, 1976).

NATIONAL—The national governments of the Netherlands and Norway have primary responsibility for special education. In Norway education and health authorities share this responsibility (Cunningham, 1977).

Norway, some Australian states, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, Finland, Colombia, the Netherlands, and Micronesia have departments or divisions of special education on the national level (Cunningham, 1977; Drummond, 1978; Moriyama, 1974; Nader, 1978; Pietila, 1978; Pinto & Mora, 1977; *Special Education in the Netherlands*, 1978; Welle, 1979). The Soviet Union's Institute of Defectology serves in a similar capacity (D'iachkov, 1971).

Level of control could not be hypothesized as a systematic variable in implementation of public policy. Perhaps a sociological approach assessing national traditions of trends would be productive.

FUNDING

Financing of special education, a challenging objective in any land, provides the means whereby public policy is brought to action. The history and the philosophy of general education perhaps are most instructive in understanding comparisons of funding of special education in the several nations for which information was available.

Education, we may assume, is a right of every child wherever in the world he might live. The extension of these rights through appropriate funding is summarized by the Chief Inspector of Special Education of the Netherlands :

> The cost of special education is not at all high if we realize that it refers to special provisions for those who are unable to benefit from some of the ordinary national provisions......
> Since it is not everyone who can benefit from the normal national provisions, we must recognize the right of those who require to have special provisions made for their education to have them. (Makel, 1970, p. 5)

In the German Democratic Republic, the Netherlands, and the Republic of China, special education is free at all levels (Bodeman, 1975b: Information Department, 1979; Kuo, 1979). In addition, allowances for support of handicapped children are given in the Republic of China (Kuo, 1979) In contrast, parents in Japan and the Soviet Union must pay, according to their income a part of the cost of special education (Kobayashi, 1976; Lubovsky, 1974). However, as in the Republic of China, the Soviet Union (Lubovsky, 1974) and Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1980) provide allowances to handicapped children. A similar practice in Finland provides what is termed income security (Social Welfare in Finland, 1980).

Norway practices a funding scheme which incorporates special education as a part of the total program. A percentage of the total teaching schedule can be devoted to special education. While on the one hand the scheme hearkens to a policy of permissive special education, it is at the same time utilizing the same scheme for funding as that for regular education. Special education thus is funded without resorting to special grants and payments.

While a review such as that represented by this study cannot evaluate program quality, and while it is not possible to conclude that one form of funding or administration is inherently superior to another, the case of Sweden is instructive. Sweden's special education program has already been referred to as advanced and has achieved a level of maturity not yet experienced by many other nations. Local education authorities in Sweden are given considerable authority in expenditure of available resources. This is a practice that, when undergirded by a mature national policy, supportive of education for the handicapped, results in a program that is highly integrated with regular education.

DEFINITION

The definition of special education utilized by a geographical or political entity usually reflects attitudes or policies toward education of handicapped children. On the one extreme are found definitions which denote a segregated, all-encompassing program of education. At the other are those suggestive of a highly integrated program or even of a modified or additional service. Other forms of definitions are less programmatic, defining in terms of the populations taught.

A singular definition for the special education of Sweden was not found in the literature. Special education is called "coordinated education" (Vaigo, 1974), reflecting concepts based on instructional practice rather than handicapping conditions or separate organizational arrangements.

The highly integrated program is suggested in Norway where special education simply is called "supportive education" (Weissman, 1977). However, integration of the handicapped has not progressed in recent years (Cunningham, 1977). Vaigo (1974) indicates that views expressed by teachers' unions in Norway may have inhibited extensive integration. The opposite extreme is found in the Soviet Union, which describes special education as follows:

...the science of psychophysiological characteristics of the development of children with physical and mental defects (abnormal or anomalous children) and the law-governed regularities of their up-bringing, education, and training. Defectology determines the principles and ways and means of compensating for defects in the child's development. (D' iachkov, 1971, p. 202)

The Soviet Union follows the all-encompassing approach. Though appearing restrictive, in the socialist society this approach may be the method for meeting every need. England's Warnock report avoids the labeling of children that is inherent in the Soviet definition but limits special education to a concept of additional help:

[special education] encompasses the whole range and variety of additional help, wherever it is provided, whether on a full or part-time basis, by which children may be helped to overcome educational dfficulties, however they are caused. (Karagianis & Nesbit, 1981. p. 333)

DIAGNOSTICS AND PLACEMENT

Procedures in diagnostics and placement reveal aspects of the legal controls, political philosophies, and social acceptance of nations in regard to the handicapped. Countries with well-defined legal authority in special education have established models for diagnosis and enforce criteria for diagnosing and placing handicapped children. Other countries which utilize procedures less well-defined in law and regulation likely will fail to identify a number of students but will have a more flexible program. Throughout the world, however, diagnosis generally follows a clinical model that relies upon the use of standardized tests and I.Q. scores. Placement decision has evolved into an educational responsibility and incorporates anecdotal, observational, and parent interview information into the process.

In the Republic of China and in the Soviet Union, highly centralized systems are employed. The Republic of China's Ministry of Education has a regulation concerning identification and educational placement of exceptional children which provides definitions, procedures for identification, the diagnostic data, conditions considered in educational measures, educational setting, and the policies and objectives of education. Under this regulation, it is essential to place a child in as normal an environment as the handicap and family conditions permit. Local education authorities are required, when a child reaches school age, to assign a diagnostic and consulting team composed of a medical doctor, school psychologist, special educators, and administrators to be convened by the director of the local bureau of education (Kuo, 1979). A similar situation exists in the Soviet Union, although

identification occurs much earlier. During the first months of life, all children undergo compulsory examinations by specialists. Children identified as handicapped are assigned to special preschool institutions. During the sixth year, every child, as a prerequisite for school admission, is examined by physicians representing pertinent specializations. If serious defects are found, the child is assigned to an appropriate special school by a commission composed of a child psychoneurologist, a defectologist-educator, a speech therapist, a representative of the educational systems, an otolaryngologist, and an opthalmologist (Lubovsky, 1974). Intelligence tests ideologically are not acceptable in the Soviet Union and the mentally retarded are identified by EEG and clinical observation (Nazzaro. 173). Evaluations by the staff of the Institute of Defectology include medical histories; interviews with parents and other children; psychoeducational evaluations consisting of comprehending written stories and describing series of pictures; clinical assessments including classifying pictures, comprehending similarities and differences, and performing on the Seguin formboard; and an educational assessment by observing the child's behavior and performance in the classroom and on the playground (Holowinsky, 1976). These procedures are as thorough, controlled, and complex as any reviewed for this study.

In sharp contrast to the Soviet Union and the Republic of China are countries with minimal statutory or other centralized regulation of diagnosis. Japan has no official criteria for deciding eligibility for special classes (Ogamo, 1978). Admissions in the Netherlands are arranged individually by each shool, not regionally, with but little coordination of referral and subsequent placement. (*Special Education in the Netherlands*, 1979)

Sweden is an example of a nation that does not have strict procedures for identifying and placing handicapped children. As in the case of Japan, this could be the rea on for or the result of educating the handicapped in normal settings whenever possible. Special class placement is not considered until it has been proven that neither individual instruction nor special instruction, called clinic teaching, can help the student reach an acceptable levelof achievement (Weissman, 1974). Clinic teaching is rather flexib le, provided only for the time required and not preceded by a formal investigation. The student is said to benefit more readily from he ordinary class with help from clinic teaching reather than

formal placement in a remedial class (Stenholm, 1978). Lundsmotr (1969) listed a number of factors to be considered in Sweden's diagnostics and placement: aptitudes and circumstances of the child, family attitude toard the handicap and their ability to create favorable conditions in the home, and the availability of resources at the school to meet the child's requirements. In Sweden how the student functions in the school situation is more of a deciding factor than IQ scores. The Soviet Union includes a similar practice by testing in real-life situations rather than by clinical examination which includes IQ testing (Gibson, 1980). However, Sweden's advanced, highly integrated program contrasts sharply with the segregated, controlled approach of the Soviet Union. As occurs quite frequently in studies of education programs, very different programs will have points of similarity.

Poland's procedures are similar to those of the Soviet Union (Holowinsky, 1975). In contrast to Poland and the Soviet Union are those nations which use a more traditional model including intelligence tests, but in combination with observations and other evaluations. An example is in Norway which employs group intelligence testing, teacher evaluations, and standardized achievement testing in Norwegian and arithmetic for initial screening. School psychologists administer individual tests, when possible, before special placement is recommended. The Office of Special Schools collects psychological, social, and educational data on the child and interviews the parents. The child who qualified for placement is sent to a special school for two weeks of observation. If social maturity is adequate, he/she is admitted. (Skaarbrevik, 1973).

Regular elementary teachers initiate referrals in the Netherlands. If the principal agrees with the need for referral, parents are consulted and must give their consent before a professional examination can be conducted. A special school is recommended prior to the examination. A team of specialists from the selected school, including the school psychologist, school doctor, special educational diagnostician, and social worker conduct a conference to decide either for or against placement. If special placement is indicated, with parental consent the child is placed in the school. A re-evaluation is required by law every year for those placed in special schools (Lynch, 1975).

In contrast to Poland and the Netherlands, a child in England must be recorded, a process in which a child is diagnosed as

handicapped and declared in need of special education services by a local education authority. Parents, although not allowed to see the full report, have the right to appeal placement but not the recording of their child. Neither is there provision for parents to have their child de-recorded (Large, 1980). The British Government's new bill on special education requires assessment to include medical, educational, and psychological factors and gives parents the right to appeal decisions on their child's education, although the results of the appeal are not binding (Hempel, 1981). In Scotland, the process is called ascertainment and considers school achievement and behavior, contact with parents, a medical examination, and an individual psychological evaluation in decisions (Broadhead, 1979). According to Findlay (1973), the local authority has the power to force the parents, if necessary, to submit their child for examination. A medical officer signs a certificate if special placement is required. The parents have the right to appeal to the Secretary of State.

A highly informal process is used with Micronesian handicapped children who are integrated naturally into their social group and realistic expectations are placed on them at home. Pupils are placed in special education on the basis of observation and/or measurable data on their performance and observable behavioral characteristics. To function as normally as possible they must be provided educational opportunities in as normal a situation as possible (Welle, 1979).

In their respective cultures, these various approaches may be in the best interest of the handicapped. In the unstructured society of the Micronesian islands, the handicapped live and play and work beside normal people and are totally accepted and adapted to the life style. Handicapped people in the Soviet Union may need a systematic, planned, segregated educational training, and developmental period to enable them to live productively in the structured Soviet society.

CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION

Programs for the handicapped traditionally have been organized under medical categories, a practice in widespread use. Degrees of severity within categories are considered as separate categories in certain countries. Different terminology has also added or

replaced categories. Table 1 On page 134 & 135 shows the categories and classifications and of handicaps identified and/or included in educational programs in a number of countries.

Among the countries from which information was available, there was reported a wide range in the number of categories served by special education programs. The Netherlands and the Republic of China report the greatest number while Norway and Micronesia provide for only two. In England, categories overlap because of children with multiple handicaps. The Republic of China has regulations listing nine categories of exceptional children (see Table 1), but services and programs currently exist for only four (Kuo, 1979). Australia's provisions for special classes include aboriginal children and migrant children of non-English speaking background in addition to the categories listed in Table 1 (Drummond, 1978). The Netherlands provides special education to groups other than traditional handicaps: children under the child care and protection laws, bargees' children (barge residents), traveling gypsy children, and the children of fairground operators (*Special Education in the Netherlands*, 1978).

Persons concerned about the use of or even the existence of categories might consider the case of Micronesia where categories do not adhere to the traditional form, probably due to the lack of standardized testing devices, inconsistent educational and medical support services, multi-cultural conditions, and physical isolation of population groups. Children with auditory and visual handicaps are reported as readily identified, but other categories are more difficult. The approach is to emphasize the specific functioning of the student rather than the handicapping condition. Thus, children are classified as having mild, moderate, or severe handicaps, rather than clinical conditions, to facilitate instruction in integrated classrooms and in programs with mixed categories (Welle, 1979).

The example of Micronesia, integration of the handicapped, suggests grouping for educational purposes and reduction of the discrete traditional categories. Categories result in labeling children and the stigma that accompanies any label. As countries move toward integration of the handicapped, children will be grouped more purposefully for the achievement of educational objectives. The objections, reported in England by Hill (1973)

TABLE 1

CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATIONS IDENTIFIED/SERVED

	Phys. Hand	Blind Part. Sight	Deaf Part. Hear.	Ment. Ret.	Spch. Def.	Del./ Hlth Imp.	Mal- Adjst Dist.	Learn. Dif./ Dis.	Multi Hand.
Australia[ab]	x[a]	x[b]	x[b]	x[b]		x[b]	x[b]	x[b]	
Austria[c]	x	x	x		x	x	x		x
Denmark[d]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
England[e]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Fed. Rep. of Germany[f]	x	x	x	x	x		x		
Finland[g]	x	x	x	x	x		x		
German Dem. Republic[h]				x					
Japan[i]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Korea[j]	x	x	x	x	x		x		
Micronesia[k]	x	x	x		x				
Netherlands[l]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nigeria[m]	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	

						x^2		x^0	
Norway[no]	x					x			
Poland[p]	x	x		x		x			
Rep. of China[q]	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
Scotland	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
Soviet Union[s]	x	x	x	x		x			x
Sweden[t]	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x

[a]Australian Information Service, 1980

[c]Gschier & Satzke, 1977

[e]Hill, 1973

[g]Pietila, 1978

[i]Ogamo, 1978

[k]Welle, 1979

[m]Kalu, 1978

[o]Weissmann, 1974

[q]Kuo, 1979

[s]Vlasova, 1971

[b]Drummond, 1978

[d]Weissmann, 1974

[f]Keefe, Giloane, Long, Moore, Shema, Walpole, & Weizmann, 1975

[h]Niecke, Note 1

[j]Kim, 1976

[l]Special Education in the Netherlands, 1978

[n]Skaarbrevik, 1973

[p]Facts about Poland, Note 2

[r]Milne, 1978

[t]Lundstrom, 1969

TABLE 2

CONTINUUM OF SERVICES OFFERED

	Reg. Class	Reg./Help/Res. R.	Part. time Sp. Cl.	Sp. Cl. Reg. Sch.	Sp. Day Sch.	Res. Sch.	Hosp. Home Inst.	Main-stream	Voc. Ed.
Australia[a]		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Austria[b]	X			X	X			X	X
Canada[c]	X	X^d	X^d	X^d	X^e	X^e	X^e		X^e
Denmark[de]	X			X	X	X	X		
England[f]	X			X	X				X
Fed. Rep. Germany[gh]	X^g	X^i		X^g	X^g	X^h	X^h	X^i	X^g
Finland[ij]	X^i	X^k	X^j	X^j	X^i	X^j		X^j	X^i
German Dem. Rep.[klm]		X^k			X^l	X^l	X^l	X^m	X^l
Ghana[n]	X				X	X		X	X
Israel[o]	X^o				X	X			X
Japan[pq]	X^p			X^q	X^q	X^q			
Korea[r]	X	X		X	X			X	X
Micronesia[s]	X^t			X^u	X^u	X^u	X^u		X^v
Netherlands[tu]	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Nigeria[w]		X^a	X^a	X^a	X^a	X^y	X^a		X^z
Norway[xyz]	X	X^a	X^a	X	X	X^y	X^a		X
Poland[aa]									X
Republic of China[bb]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X

Country								
Scotland[e,c,dd]		X[cc]	X[dd]	X[dd]	X[dd]		X[cc]	X[dd]
Soviet Union[ee]				X	X			X
Sweden[ff,gg,hh]	X[ff]	X[ff]	X[ff]	X[ff]	X[ff]	X[gg]	X[gg]	X[hh]
Switzerland[ii]	X	X	X	X	X			
Tanzania[jj]			X	X	X	X		

[a] Drummond, 1978
[b] Gschier & Satzke, 1977
[c] Katz, 1974
[d] Weissmann, 1974
[e] Denmark, Note 3
[f] Dent, 1977
[g] Bodenman, 1975a
[h] Keefe, Giloane, Long, Moore, Shema, Walpole, & Weizmann, 1975
[i] Social Welfare in Finland, 1980
[j] Pietila, 1978
[k] Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973
[l] Niecke, Note 1
[m] Bodenman, 1975b
[n] Moriyama, 1974
[o] Milgram, 1979
[p] Ogamo, 1978
[q] Kobayashi, 1976
[r] Kim, 1976
[s] Welle, 1979
[t] Information Department, 1979
[u] Special Education in the Netherlands, 1979
[v] Lynch, 1975
[w] Kalu, 1978
[x] Weissmann, 1974
[y] Cunningham, 1977
[z] Skaarbrevik, 1973
[aa] Facts about Poland, Note 2
[bb] Kuo, 1979
[cc] Broadhead, 1979
[dd] Clark, 1978
[ee] Lubovsky, 1974
[ff] Lundstrom, 1969
[gg] Stenholm, 1978
[hh] Weissmann, 1974
[ii] Bodenman, 1979
[jj] Moriyama, 1974

that segregation by medical interpretation can be educationally harmful would be answered by educational diagnosis, acceptance in ordinary schools, differences reduced in importance and diminishing of labels.

INSTRUCTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

A continuum of services, see *Table 2,* offered to handicapped children ranges from segregated, restricted environments to highly integrated situations. A residential institution or hospital is the most restrictive setting, followed by a separate special school. The self-contained classroom in an ordinary school and the part-time special class are next on the continuum. A regular classroom with resource room or special help is less restrictive. The regular classroom is the most integrated setting possible for the handicapped, but not always the least restrictive. For a very severely handicapped child, a full time residential school might be the least restrictive. Categories may be mixed in one special school or schools may be strictly segregated by category. The trend toward mainstream arrangements seems to be a worldwide effort. In instances such as Sweden and Finland, a change in national policy is responsible. In Micronesia, the commitment is part of the establishment of special education.

SELF-CONTAINED

Lynch (1975) reported that special education in the Netherlands is provided in special schools rather than in special classes within regular schools. The special schools are segregated by category of handicap. For example, all deaf children are in schools with other deaf children. The handicapped in Scotland are also separated according to their handicapping conditions (Broadhead, 1979), but several special schools serve more than one category, many of the children being multi-handicapped. One school educates the deaf partially deaf, partially sighted, mentally handicapped, physically handicapped, and spastic children (Milne, 1978). Special education in the Soviet Union is representative of the segregated portion of the continuum (Gibson, 1980) with 90% of the special schools, boarding schools (Nazzaro, 1973). Boarding schools are considered to offer the most favorable opportunities for improving the child's life and development (Lubovsky, 1974). The exceptions are day schools for the mentally handicapped in large cities. Just as in other nations with vast

areas that are sparsely populated, a number of regions of the Soviet Union do not have a sufficient number of children of certain categories to establish traditional special schools. As a result, children with vision, hearing, or other low incidence impairments are placed in schools for the mentally retarded. Large numbers are reported as receiving special instruction when the instruction they are reeiving is not for their particular handicap (Vlasova, 1971). Problems of differential diagnosis in cases of blind or deaf children who are not intellectually above average are well known and could account for a portion of Vlasova's conclusions,

Varied Arrangements

In England there are equivalent categories of schools for most handicaps (Hill, 1973). England's national policy is to educate the handicapped, when possible, first in ordinary schools, then special day schools, with boarding schools as a last alternative (Dent, 1977) but large numbers of handicapped children, especially the educationally subnormal, are in ordinary schools because there is no place for them in special schools (Hill, 1973). Educators in England, as it scotland, certain states in Australia, and the Scandinavian countries are struggling with the question of whether the handicapped should be separated from society while they receive an education or whether they should be educated in a normal environment so they can adjust during the developmental period (Broadhead, 1979; Harrison & Goldsmith, 1970; Jones, 1974; Vaigo, 1974). The result seems to be an inconsistent array of settings and arrangements for special education in England.

In addition to the settings reported in England, Scotland provides special education classes attached to ordinary schools and in occupational centers (Clark, 1978). In Norway, special education may take 10% of the total teaching hours in a community, with additional funds available for the more severely handicapped (Weissman, 1974). The Federal Republic of Germany provides individual classes at elementary and secondary schools, half-day and full-day classes at special schools, boarding schools, and itinerant teachers (Keefe, et al, 1974).

Integrated

The socialist educational system of the German Democratic Republic is fully integrated and was approved by the whole population (*Introducing the GDR,* Note 4). The slightly handicapped

in the German Democratic Republic are educated in normal schools with help during out-of-school hours. Schools are separate for different forms of handicap (Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973).

Clinic special education in Finland, as in Sweden, is administered individually or in small groups in a separate clinic room or as simultaneous instruction by a special teacher in a normal classroom. Special education in clinics is to eventually be provided for almost all categories of handicap and will supplement or replace auxiliary schools and observation (short-term, diagnostic) classes (Pietila, 1978). Resource rooms in Sweden are supervised by a regular class teacher, not by a resource-room teacher. Schools are non-residential except in cases where distance necessitates residential facilities. Small groups of retarded children have been successfully integrated in regular kindergarten with a specially trained assistant to help the kindergarten teachers (Weissman, 1974). In comprehensive schools with special classes, the children are integrated for gymnasium and handicraft activities. Some handicapped children are individually integrated in classes with personal assistants to help them (Stenholm, 1978). Sweden's program represents the most extensive and systematic integration of pupils and program components reviewed by this study. A more careful research project should trace the impact of the Swedish system on other national efforts.

CURRICULUM

The curriculum followed by a special education program might emphasize academics, vocational training: social skills, or combinations of these areas. Individual schools, local authorities, or the national departments of education or special education might develop the curriculum and the materials used in instruction. Compulsory age limits, length of special programs, and class size are among the components included in the curricula which are quite varied, even within relatively small education entities.

In the Netherlands, individual teachers develop their own plans of instruction with little consistency in the programs (Lynch, 1975). In contrast, special text-books are provided for each category of segregated handicap in the German Democratic Republic (Moore-Rinvoluri, 1973). The Institute of Defectology

requires the use of certain textbooks, teaching aids, test programs, and pilot studies for use in special education programs in the Soviet Union. Members of the Institute test the validity of their research theories through regular visits to the school (Shennan, 1978). Even with these strict guidelines, a significant amount of teacher-prepared materials is used in the Soviet Union (Nazzaro, 1973.)

Generally, the class size in special education programs is usually smaller than that of regular school classes to provide more individualized instruction. The length of time students spend in special programs and the compulsory age requirements vary. Programs may be divided by age levels, primary and secondary, or not at all as in the German Democratic Republic's ten-year school. Preschools and kindergartens and extended secondary schools are available in certain countries.

ACADEMIC

Certain countries report little or no distinction between the curricula provided for the handicapped and that for the regular class pupils. Japan, the German Democratic Republic, and the Federal Republic of Germany report that the curricula are identical (Bodenman, 1975a; Kobayashi,1976; Niecke, Note 1). The general philosophy of mainstream education, based upon individualization, provides that basic and gymnasium level schools use centrally compiled curricula with all pupils regardless of capabilities (Stenholm, 1975). Regular curricula are followed by certain categories in Korea and in Colombia (Kin, 1976; Pinto and Mora, 1977).

Slight changes in pace or method are used in instruction of regular curricula in English, Norwegian, math, religion, geography, and history for slow learners in Norway (Skaarrevik, 1973).

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

So widely distributed is vocational education for the handicapped, it is treated as a classification or category and as an instructional arrangement as well as a feature of curriculum. In no instance is vocational education or training denied as a valid aspect of special education. Only in Brazil, with a very high rate of unemployment, was workshop experience a rare provision (Castricone, 1974-75). In contrast, the GDR and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia both guarantee jobs following vocational training *Marking the UNO Year of the Impaired,* Note 5; Nader, 1978).

More typical is the situation found in the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, Poland, Korea, the Republic of China, Scotland, and Colombia where vocational education is part of the curriculum (Bodenman, 1975a; Drummond, 1978; *Facts About Poland*, Note 2; Kin, 1976; Kuo, 1979; Mckee and Dunn, 1978; Pinto and Mora, 1977). Austria (Gschier & Satzke, 1977), the Netherlands (Lynch, 1977) and Israel (Milgram, 1979) also provide for vocational education beginning at the seventh to eighth grade level.

In atleast two countries vocational education is a national priority for pupils capable of social independence. The educable mentally retarded are admitted to secondary level vocational training schools in Norway if evaluations indicate the likelihood of the students becoming self-supporting (Skaarbrevik, 1973). Auxiliary schools in the Soviet Union provide vocational training to the mentally handicapped, enabling them to earn a living and adapt to normal society (Shennan, 1978). In the latter case, vocational training would be the final component of a program to enable handicapped students to live more normally in society even though isolated during their educational and developmental stages of life.

SOCIAL TRAINING

While most countries recognize social skill development as a legitimate, important part of the special education curriculum, certain curricula treat the component with a limited emphasis.

Social skills and adapting to life in society are emphasized only for a portion of handicapped students in Austria and the German Democratic Republic (Gschier & Satzke, 1977; Niecke, Note 1). Proper attitudes and values are the objectives of the social training in the beginning stage of education of the educable mentally retarded in Norway (Skaarbrevik, 1973). A broader view is exemplified by Korea, the Soviet Union, and Saudi Arabia where social training goals are to integrate the child into society (Kim, 1976; Lubovsky, 1974; Nader, 1978).

STATISTICS

The percentages of school-aged children receiving special education were not available for certain countries. Table 3

TABLE 3

SCHOOL-AGED GROUP IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

Country	Percentage
Austria[a]	3.16
Denmark[b]	4
England and Wales[c]	1.8 (full-time)
	4.7 (part-time)
Federal Republic of Germany[d]	4
Finland[e]	13.4 (Comprehensive school)
Netherlands[f]	5 (primary school)
Nigeria[g]	10 (six year-olds)
Norway[h]	10
Scotland[i]	1.3
Sweden[j]	25

[a]Gschier & Stazke, 1977
[b]Vaigo, 1974
[c]Warnock Report 1978
[d]Dungworth, 1981
[e]Pietila, 1978
[f]Makel, 1970
[g]Kalu, 1970
[h]Vaigo, 1974
[i]Milne, 1978
[j]Ljunggren, 1979

presents the statistics available, some of which pertain to only a portion of the school-age group. The high percentag receivinge special education in Sweden includes a large number of slow learners. Sweden provides special education in very integrated circumstances to many of its students (Ljnuggren, 1979).

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study, the pervasive and recurrent issue has been mainstream education for handicapped pupils. Certain nations have been able to effect highly integrated special education programs with minimal statutory and judiciary effort. The law provides support for special education that perhaps is tenuous, as evidenced by fears of repeal of appropriations acts in the United States at this time. Marked discrepancies are evident in certain nations, notably England and Norway, between stated policies and program execution. Frustration of teachers and leaders in special education indicates the need for a more effective system or other means to resolve the dissonance. Perhaps the current legislative efforts in England will result in favorable change.

While the literature within associations and countries is replete with advocacy and opposition concerning diagnostic and placement procedures, an international perspective suggests that appropriateness is relative to the policies, traditions, and needs of an area. No single procedure would be adequate and appropriate for the Soviet Union and for Micronesia at this time. So different are the policies, instructional arrangements, and traditions of these countries that widely different models are needed.

Although difficult to verify, the literature suggests a tendency to reduce the number of categories, combining traditional classifications into educational groupings by level of severity or other functional type. At the same time, attempts to compare countries' programs by category were thwarted by the widely varied treatment of classification of special education categories. The traditional clinical categories and their labels defy innovative efforts in even the most progressive countries. The experience of nations like Micronesia which are not bound to a history of clinically based programs should prove enlightening to countries struggling to change the practices in diagnosis and placement.

The study suggests that certain social systems and public trends are supportive of the goals inherent in social acceptance or handicapped persons and their integrated education. Further research should explicate these factors, providing understanding needed for more effective development of special education programs.

FOOTNOTES

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Israel, Schools, and Arab Conflict in the Middle East

FRANKLIN PARKER

We were 39 US educators from 14 states, most from New York and California, mainly high school social studies teachers and some higher education professors, mainly women, average age about 40, of mixed faiths but mostly Jewish—attending the fourth Middle East Studies Seminar sponsored by the Israeli Teachers Union, the American Federation of Teachers, and the New York-based National Committee for Middle East Studies. It was July 1980 and hot, a moist 90-degree average but with cool nights on the Tel Aviv University campus where our lectures and discussions were held.

Israel's friends say that this inverted thumblike sliver of a country about the size of New Jersey is the only democracy in the Middle East. Arab enemies, them-selves former European colonies see Israel as an unwanted western-imposed, imperialistic, expansionist mini-state on the eastern Mediterranean shore of Asia. This embattled semi-desert dot on the crossroads where Europe, Africa, and Asia meet is bordered by 4 of the 22 Arab countries who overwhelm it in size and population and who (except for Egypt since 1977) deny its right to exist and vow its destruction: Lebanon to the north, Syria and Jordan to the east, and Egypt to the southwest.

"It is all Moses' fault," an old Israeli from Russia told us with a twinkle in his eye as we waited in line in a Tel Aviv bank.

"He made a mistake. He pointed north from Sinai and meant to say 'Canada,' but because he stammered, he said 'Canaan' instead." We laughed, nearly missing his last quip, "The Arabs don't want us here."

Uneasy, unwanted, burdened with a 40% defense budget, but determined to remain the national homeland for Jews who wandered for 19 centuries, Israel's population grew from 650,000 (600,000 Jews) at statehood in 1948 to 3.5 million today: 3,037,000 Jews, about 500,000 Israeli Arabs (446,000 Muslims, 84,000 Christians, and 46,000 Druzes, a Muslim offshoot, and others). Israeli Arabs (who are citizens) are not to be confused with the over a million Palestinian Arabs (mostly Muslims) who live in the military-occupied territories Israel gained in the 1967 war begun by the Arab states: 650,000 in the West Bank of the Jordan River (Judea and Shomron, 400,000 in the Gaza Strip (which was Egyptian, 1948-67), and a few (mostly Druzes) in the Golan Heights near Syria.

Problem-ridden Israel (we will return to its external Arab problems) contains Jews of European/American background, called Ashkenazim. and Jews of Asian/African background, called Sephardim. The smaller number but more urban and culturally advanced Western Ashkenazim more quickly adjusted and dominated economically and politically the more numerous rural, darker, Eastern Sephardim in Israel's agricultural mechanization and modern industries. For example, because their parents came from mainly Muslim countries with extended village families which kept girls at home, 25% of young Sephardic women were recently found to be illiterate.

Complicating Ashkenazi-Sephardi differences are religious differences among ultra-orthodox, orthodox, and secular Jews. Israel is a Jewish state that permits freedom of worship to other religions. There are also differences between Jews and Israeli Arabs. Affluent Arabs fled Israel on statehood (1948), leaving few leaders and teachers for the remaining more numerous poor Arabs living mainly in traditional extended family villages. An Arab head of a teacher training center told us that, while Israeli Arabs have made remarkable progress, they are still discriminated against when compared to Israeli Jews. They are citizens, can vote, have 6 elected member in Parliament (Knesset), have separate and

supposedly equal schools, but feel they are not trusted in being excluded from the Israeli army (Israelis fear Arabs as a potential fifth column). The gap is narrowing but still exists between Israeli Arabs and Jews in school achievement and in social and economic progress. Our Arab speaker, whose candor we admired, said, "Jews do not trust Arabs and this hurts us."

A 1976 study shows that although a third of all Israeli Arabs are in school, their educational attainment is lower than that of Jews. For example, those completing school through the university entrance exam (Bagrut) include 24% of Jews, 8% of Arabs; illiterates over age 14·9% of Jews, 36.5% of Arabs; unqualified teachers: 16% of Jewish teachers, 43% of Arab teachers; white collar workers: 41% of Jews, 14.5% of Arabs; families who own refrigerators: 98% of Jews, 54% of Arabs; families with telephones: 52% of Jews, 7% of Arabs. The study found that Arab youths' view of Israel becomes more negative as they grow older.

The school system further illustrates Israel's internal problems. A centralized Ministry of Education and Culture with six decentralized school regions is responsible for the curriculum, textbooks, exams, and the recruitment and training of teachers and other school personnel. City, town, and rural school councils are responsible for buildings, equipment, and textbook purchases. Imitating the US, the old 8-4 plan is now almost completely superseded by a 6-year elementary school (ages 6-12); 3-year junior high school (12-15), and 3-year senior high school (15-18), after which either a school-leaving certificate or a matriculation (university entrance *Bagrut*) exam is taken. Education is free through age 18 and compulsory for ages 5-16 (age 5-6 is a free kindergarten year). The several types of Jewish schools include state secular schools, enrolling 65% of all students; state religious schools, 25%; ultra-orthodox schools (*Agudat Israel*), 6.5%; and the rest divided among the kibbutzim (communal agricultural and industrial units), army, and other schools.

Preschool enrollment in 1976 was high: 83% of all 3-year-olds 90% of all 4-year-olds, and 96% of all 5-year-olds. Instruction is in Hebrew. English is introduced as the first foreign language in the fourth (sometimes fifth) year, and the second language choice is Arabic or French.

Arab education is separate for mainly geographic and language reasons since most Israeli Arabs still live in extended family

villages apart from the urbanized Jews. Arabs and Jews have the same school ladder, years of free (14-years) and compulsory (12-years) eduction, and school-leaving and matriculation exams. Instruction, however, is in Arabic, with Hebrew begun in the third year and English in the fifth year. The Ministry works out with Arab educators an Arab culture syllabus and Arab textbooks.

Many acknowledge that Arabs are disadvantaged, more because of their traditional village life than because of overt discrimination. Israeli born Jewish children (*sabras*) grow up speaking Hebrew; Arabic-speaking children must make an extra effort to learn Hebrew as a second language in order to succeed in Israeli society.

A 1976 study showed low female Arab enrollment: 42% females to 58% males in Arab elementary schools and 25% females to 75% males in Arab secondary schools. It is difficult to keep good teachers in poor villages; they naturally prefer to work in urban areas. Unfortunately, in 1980, there was an oversupply of Arab teachers. The Ministry has tried to close the gap between better Jewish and poorer Arab schools, a gap heightened by the Palestinian issue.

For Israeli Arabs, as for US minority youths, education and teaching are avenues for advancement. Arab parents urge their children, more than do Jewish parents, to achieve academically. Israeli Arabs generally prefer academic over blue-collar vocational education, even though fewer reach higher education and the professions. Of those in school, 52% of Jews as against 10% of Arabs enroll in vocational education because of job availability in Israel's rapid industrialization.

At age 18, having completed either a school-leaving exam or the matriculation exam (university entrance (*Bagrut*), a typical Jewish boy is drafted into the army for 3 years and an unmarried girl for 2 years. The army is itself a large-scale educator and an effective assimilator of advanced Ashkenazi, disadvantaged Sephardi, and also the village Druzes (the Druzes asked and were allowed to be drafted).

Israel's 7 independent universities (1977-78 enrollments) are Hebrew University, 13,180; Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, 8,760; Tel Aviv University, 13,530; Bar-Ilan, 8,150; Haifa, 5,920; Ben Gurion, 3,960; and Weizmann Institute of Science, 560.

There are also some 18,000 students in 267 Yeshivot (Talmudic colleges to prepare rabbis), mostly in Jerusalem. The total 72,060 higher education students pay rather high tuition and many work.

Israel has tried to close the gap between the advanced Ashkenazi students (45%) and the less advanced Sephardi students (55%). Since 1970, young mothers, mainly from North African countries, have been taught to use games with their children; 30 young mothers with little education but much potential were used to train other mothers in small groups. Encouraging Sephardi children to talk helped their later learning. Another experiment is to pay selected university students to tutor disadvantaged children twice weekly. Some 9,000 university students will be hired in this paid tutor program in September 1980. Army life and schools have also helped, as have the rising number of Ashkenazi-Sephardi marriages (27% of all marriages in 1979).

Another continuing educational problem is how to teach about the Jewish religion to the nearly three-quarters nonreligious state school students. The Ministry developed for them a "Jewish consciousness" curriculum but with uncertain results. The need is to find ways to teach what a Jew is, the meaning of Israel's troubled history, and the responsibilities of citizens in a country under constant siege.

After independence and increased immigration of world Jews thousands of unqualified teachers had to be hired. While many of these have since qualified through in-service training, some unqualified teachers remain among Israel's 65,000 teachers. The training colleges turn out fewer than the 4,000 new teachers needed annually. Those unqualified teachers still being hired are let go if they do not begin to qualify in 2 years. The Ministry has asked the army for some 500 drafted young women. After 3 months' training, they teach in remote areas in lieu of 2 years' army service. Many continue teaching after leaving the army and, with in-service training, become certified.

Although the Teachers' Union is Israel's largest union, teachers have lost status in recent years, more so among Ashkenazim than Sephardim. Sephardim now comprise 35% of teacher training enrollment. Incentives of housing and other subsidies are used to get good teachers to frontier development towns. After 4 years' service, many remain there.

Teachers are civil servants with one salary scale from kindergarten to training college teachers. There are salary steps according to educational trainging and raises for in-service training (which is popular) and additional training. Kindergarten to 6th grade teachers work 30 hours weekly; 7th to 12th grade teachers work 24 hours weekly. Teacher training colleges turn out skilled elementary teachers, some of whom are short on subject content. University schools of education turn out good subject content high school teachers, some of whom are short on teaching skills. Salaries in Israel are linked by professional groups and rise with the cost of living. A Ministry official complained to us that the Teachers' Union agitated about money issues when they should have concentrated on raising educational quality.

The 230 kibbutzim, or cooperative communities, run their own schools and have their own teachers but use Ministry guidelines, syllabi, and textbooks. Important beyond their small membership of under 4% of Israel's total population, the kibbutzim (Hebrew for group) exert a large influence for their economic success in agriculture, small industries, and tourist inns: for their strategic location guarding borders and important roads and installations; as a place to absorb new and untutored immigrants; and for their ideology, socialist in spirit and Zionist in promoting Israel as a national homeland. Everything is collectively owned: land, buildings, farms, industry, equipment. Members receive all their needs—food, housing, and other necessities, but no salary although they may draw money for travel and needed personal purchases. Management is by committees, which also make work assignments but take into account individual preferences. Many jobs are rotated, although teachers and other trained members stay with their specialty. While US communes of the 1960s and '70s were short-lived, Israel's kibbutzim have lasted for decades and most have prospered.

We visited Barkai, a 180 member kibbutz with 120 others who include probationers waiting to become members and some short and long-term visitors. Founded in 1947 and affiliated with the left-wing but noncommunist Mapam Party (a kibbutz is invariably affiliated with one of Israel's many political parties), Barkai's economy is based on a plastics factory, poultry, and agriculture. Our escort, Naomi Pearlman, a bright friendly woman of about age 50, left her well-off South African family in an early ideological

aliyah (Hebrew for "going forth"; i.e., immigration) to Israel. Her shocked parents were reconciled when, on a visit, they saw her happy with her Barkai-found husband, children, and communal life. Besides regular work (most jobs are rotated), successively more important committee duties led to her election as Barkai's secretary (i.e., chief executive).

She introduced us to probationers who had just been elected kibbutz members. Each had worked out with a committee the division of personal savings so that, as a communal member, each was fully committed to Barkai and Barkai was fully committed to each of them.

We saw another communal bond in the baby houses where, soon after birth, tiny tots live and play in small groups, boys and girls together, cared for by trained persons, visited by their parents. Nursed by their own mothers and knowing and being with their natural parents some hours each day (small apartments are assigned to members), Barkai children prefer living with their peers in small-unit children's houses. Asked if sex problems ever arose, Naomi laughed, "Rarely," explaining, "They grow up on the potty together." Her comment fitted what we had read of kibbutzniks (kibbutz children), that their close peer relationships and communal life that makes every adult something of a parent, help from their uniquely strong characters and generally wholesome personalities.

Their high educational level is said to be due partly to well-trained teachers who are kibbutz members, teach under Ministry regulations and syllabi, but whose salaries go to the kibbutz. More creative, progressive, and dedicated, kibbutz teachers are more concerned with giving broader knowledge than teaching to the narrow *Bagrut* exam. Yet kibbutz children do well on the *Bagrut* and many, after army service, are helped by the kibbutz to pay for their university studies. Prestige remains high for kibbutzniks, many of whom rise to high positions in the army, Knesset, and Cabinet.

Another cooperative institution is the *moshav*, where individuals own their own farms, live in their own family homes, but cooperate in equipment purchases and use and in marketing. Moshavim grew from 55 in 1948 to 350 today, containing about 4% of the population, including many Sephardim, since its cooper-

ative farm community fits the extended family characteristics of African/Oriental Jews. Moshav children attend regular local state secular, religious, and orthodox schools.

The army as an important educator, assimilator, and socializer integrates some 90% of 18-year-old Jewish men and 50% of 18-year-old Jewish women: Sephardim and Ashkenazim, rural and urban, *sabras* and immigrant youths. It helps the more numerous and more disadvantaged Sephardim adjust to the Ashkenazim-dominated society. Some 5,000 recruits a year learn Hebrew and Israeli history and geography. Since at least a certificate of elementary education is required before discharge, some 1,200 soldiers a year spend 3 months in basic education courses. Some women soldiers teach children in remote areas: some men soldiers join them in teaching disadvantaged children. Soldiers also help educate and socialize recent immigrant civilians and, since 1970, have worked with delinquent youths.

Soldiers are seen everywhere, mostly in and some out of uniform, with men often carrying a weapon. We were told soon after arrival that our safe movement in Tel Aviv and Israel was a result of army security. Few gripe about defense, but many wonder about spending 40% of the budget for it. The inflation rate is 125%. An Israeli professor and his wife, returned from a year on leave, told us in a taxi we shared how shocked they were to find that prices had more than doubled.

Despite normal bustle of daily life, rush of traffic, roar of new high-rise building construction, pushing and shoving to get on buses in this highly urbanized society (Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem contain most of the people), there is worry about inflation, defense, and terrorist attacks. This uncertainty about the future was expressed by Ammi, 26-year-old American-born Israeli counselor to our group. Devoted to Israel, a talented, sensitive drama student who wants to be an entertainer. Ammi went with his mother to Israel at age 16. To be fully accepted, he learned to speak flawless Hebrew and did his 3 years in the army. Speaking for himself, he said, "No one really likes to give 3 years of his life to the army." With dual US-Israeli citizenship, Ammi wants the US to fall back on if things go badly. Beth, young woman counselor to our group and also American-born, feels the same way. That more than a few Israelis feel this uncertainty is seen in

the growing number leaving the country. Some young Israelis particularly are questioning Israel's call on their service and sacrifice. They question the treatment of Israeli Arabs, disagree with such hardliners as Prime Minister Menachem Begin who hold on to disputed territory Israel gained in the 1967 war, and question Israel's retributive strikes on terrorist bases inside Lebanon. These questions neither Israeli schools nor society nor their religion-have been able to answer fully: Who is a Jew? What is a Jew? Why is there a Jewish state in Israel? How can and why should relatively few Jews fight off hordes of Arabs in 22 Arab states who don't want them?

These questions may have been partly answered by two encounters we had, the first with our last Tel Aviv University lecturer on the Palestinian Liberation Organization. He painted a grim picture of an uncompromising political terrorist organization founded and dedicated to eliminating Israel and using the miseries of over 1 million displaced Palestinian Arabs (who fled or lost their homes in 1948 and in later Israeli-Arab wars) to gain world sympathy for Palestinians and world animosity for Israel. The image of the PLO and its leader, Yasir Arafat, has risen in the UN and elsewhere while Israel's image has been tarnished by PLO propaganda, Palestinian misery, and Israel's seeming intransigence in holding territories gained in the 1967 war.

"Where does hope lie for Israel?" one of our group asked as the lecturer concluded. He answered in effect; Israel's only hope lies with Jews and other friends in the West who support Israel and ultimately with Israelis of my generation—with their support, sacrifice, and taxes. The longer Israel holds on, the more its Arab foes will have to accept its existence and the more they will be ready to acknowledge it and ignore the calls of extremists for its destruction.

He said this and more with some emotion and candor. We were stilled, realizing that at present his was perhaps the only real answer.

The second encounter, midpoint in our 4-week course, was with an old Israeli we met on a boat trip from Tel Aviv to Jaffa. His active grandson had been climbing over topdeck tables, benches, and us. Rescuing us from this playful mayhem and noting that we were visitors, the man engaged us in conversation.

TABLE I

ISRAELI SCHOOLS—AN OUTLINE

SCHOOL LADDER

7 universities & other forms of higher education — *Bagrut* (matriculation or university entrance exam).

Compulsory armed forces, 3 yrs for male Jews & Druzes (not other Arabs); & 2 yrs for unmarried women

Ages

—18—

16 / 15 } 3-yr sr. hi. — Language of instruction, Hebrew for Jews; Arabic for Arabs

12 } 3-yr jr. hi. — Foreign language: English (begun 4th or 5th yr of elementary); Arabic or French, 2nd foreign langs.

6 } 6-yr elementary — All schools (Jewish and Arab) administered by centralized Ministry of Eudcation and Culture (with 6 decentralized school regions) responsibie for curriculum, textbooks, exams, teachers, and other school personnel, City-town-rural school councils responsible for bldgs, eqpmt, book purchases.

—5—

4 96% enrolled }

3 83% enrolled } — Operated by local governments or private national organizations which charge fee (government pays fees for disadvanted children)

Compulsory (ages 5-16)

Free (ages 5-18)

TYPES OF SCHOOLS

	Enrollment % of total	Religious emphasis
1. State secular	65%	Neutral; Bible taught as literature; holy days given national and social meanings.
2. State religious	25%	Religious; Bible taught as moral literature & word of God: holy days' religious dimensions emphasized.
3. Ultra Orthodox (Agudat Israel)	6.5%	Very religious in dress, Bible, holy days' observance, & all other aspects of life.
4. Others: Army, Kibbutz, etc.	3.5%	Mixed, often religious, observing Sabbath and other holy days.
5. Arab (separate from above Jewish schools, largely because Arabs live in rural and border areas)		

TABLE II

Problem: Culturally Deprived Sephardim Jewish Students

—Ashkenazim (Jews from Europe/N. America) immigrants to
Israel were already culturally, educationally, and politically
advanced; many were socialistically inclined but urbanized
and competitive and early gravitated to Israeli leadership
roles.

—Sephardic Jews (from Middle Eastern and N. African
countries) were *less* culturally, educationally, and politically
advanced; more rural; often lived in extended families. They
had fewer resources to emigrate anywhere axcept to Israel
(whose Law of Return accepted Jews from any country; most
affluent Ashkenazim emigrated to France, US, Canada rather
than to Israel).

—Sephardim are about 55% of Israel's population but, because
of their high birthrate, have higher % of children entering
school. Because of dropouts (low achievement, low motiva-
tion, need to work), their % in school decreases up the school
ladder. Sephardim children formed the following proportion
of Israeli Jewish school enrollees (c 1976): 1st grade, 65%
Sephardim; end of 8th grade, 45%; 1st year of high school,
40% (including 20% in special academic high schools); 1st
year of university, about 18%. In lower elementary grades,
Sephardim are 1 year behind Ashkenazim and in upper
elementary grades 2 years behind.

—Helping disadvantaged: (1) Some women soldiers released to
teach disadvantaged, particularly in remote areas. (2) Since
about 1970, selected young mothers, mainly from North
Africa, train other mothers to use games and to talk more
with their children. (3) In September 1980, about 9,000
university students hired to tutor disadvantaged children,
1-to-1 basis. (4) At least 7 action research programs for the
disadvantaged, 1979, conducted by Hebrew University,
Jerusalem, School of Education, sponsored by U.S.—based
National Council of Jewish Women Research Institute for
Innovation in Education. (5) Increasing Sephardim-Ashke-
nazim intermarriage (27%, 1979) narrows the disadvantaged
gap.

We learned that he had recently visited Egypt, his birthplace, and had received royal treatment in the aftermath of the Egyptian-Israeli peace talks. We commented on how President Sadat's November 1977 trip to Israel and Prime Minister Begin's return visit to Egypt dramatically reversed over 30 years of animosity. "Are you optimistic about Israel?" we asked. He shrugged, smiled, and said, "We have to be optimistic. We started from a state." Then he added pointedly, before taking his grandson to see the skyline, "Churchill didn't want us, Roosevelt didn't want us, nobody wanted us. I tell you one thing: If Israel had existed in the 1930s, there would never have been a Holocaust."

The old Israeli was pugnaciously optimistic. We left Israel hoping he was right but privately concerned about the future of this embattled state.

The Literacy Campaign :
A Cuban Success Story

ALAN WIEDER.

Now that Fidel Castro has returned to the United Nations and we have pleased ourselves with reminders of chickens in the hotels, evictions of the Cuban party and Castro's alliance with a sho-pounding Khrushchev we might take notice of Fidel's words which received much less coverage than the disparagement noted above. On September 26, 1960, in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Castro announced to the world.

> In the coming year our people intend t o fight the great battle of illiteracy, with the ambitious goal of teaching every single inhabitant of the country to read and write in one year, and with that end in mind, organizations of teachers, students and workers, that is, the entire people, are (now) preparing themselves, for an intensive campaign...Cuba will be the first country of America which, after a few months, will be able to say it does not have one person who remains illiterate.[1]

Castro's announcement, the success of the literacy campaign and the incredible story of Cuban education still elude the conscious-ness of many people. It is no wonder. Military industrial complex, multi-nationals and the media aside, consider this anti-dote from my midwestern classroom. After introducing college seniors to the literacy campaign the coed responded: "It sounds good but we all know that it is Communist so it must be a lie,"

I must add that she was not alone. Unfortunately it is not just the public but educators as well. Their response might not echo the coed's but public school teachers and university education professors have little knowledge of education in Cuba. Our ignorance is unfortunate because the enthusiasm, involvement and empirical achievements of the Cuban educational experience is exemplory.

The story of Cuban education begins with the forementioned literacy campaign. Two books, Richard Fagan's *The Transformation of Cuba* and Jonathan Kozol's *Children of the Revolution* review the events. Both rely heavily on Anna Lorenzetto and Karel Ney's *Method and Means Utilized in Cuba to Eliminate Illiteracy.* Kozol also offers interviews with literacy campaign participants. Lorenzetto and Neys were sent to study the results of the literacy campaign by UNESCO. The observers applauded the campaign and Fagan and Kozol spend an innumerable number of lines chastitising UNESCO because they balked at publication. Fagan explains the developments that eventually made it necessary for the Cuban National Commission to publish the report. One must wonder why a Cuban success story was not acceptable and why it is still unknown in the United States.

The literacy campaign was already in motion when Fidel spoke before the United Nations. The idea was conceptualized in April of 1959. Thirteen hundred people volunteered to teach and they were given a mini-training course. In September of the same year Dr. Raul Gutierez began studying and analyzing peasant vocabulary. This is the beginning of the structural aspect of the campaign which includes technical, evaluative, publicity, finance and publication departments. But it is only half the story. Its better side is the people who were involved...both teachers and students who included middle class kids, peasants, workers, administrators and ordinary folk. Kozol quotes Cuban educator Dr. Mier Febles: "The peasants discovered the word. The students discovered the poor. Together, they all discovered patria."[2] Dr. Febles words help us understand how the structure of the campaign and the people of the campaign form a nexus. The finding of patria by all is linked throughout the entire structure of the campaign. Literacy is symbiotic with

patria.   Literacy makes the people free and freedom makes them literate. Kozol spoke with Harvard linguist and literacy expert David Harman:

> Education of adult illiterates without some parallel form of socio-economic transformation is unthinkable. It has to be accompanied by food and land and health care and the rest.   Without these items no endeavor of this kind has ever yet achieved even marginal success.[3]

Let us now look at how the campaign developed.   There were four chronological stages.   The preparatory stage was from September, 1960, Fidel's speech, up until January, 1961 which is the official beginning of the campaign.   Between January and April the campaign was concerned with organization and structure.   Materials, transportation, who the teachers would be and how the goal would be reached were the questions and the work of this stage.   May through September was the participatory stage and was followed by the final stage, goal reaching, which culminated on December 22, 1961.

The preparatory stage which began in 1959 was a census taking mission.   Who are the illiterate?   Where do they live? What do they say?   Whom do they trust?   Whom do they fear? And finally, who can teach?   Finding the illiterate was no easy task.   Years of oppression created "peasant as Stoic"-admitting illiteracy was treated as another "means test."   Trust and committment would eventually come but initially participation came reluctantly.   The census of 1953 showed 23.6 percent of Cubans illiterate.   Of these, the ratio of rural to city was four to one. Needless to say the mission was to begin in the country.

For the trip to the country each volunteer teacher was given a lantern to teach by, a hammock to sleep on and the two literacy campaign texts.   The two books; *Alfabetimos* (Let's Teach How to Read and Write) and *Venceremos* (We shall Conquer) illuminate the political-people linkage of the campaign. The Minister of Education, Raul Ferrer, readily admits that the essence of the campaign was not literacy: "The great heart of the literacy struggle was the revolution.   Its chief result: a farmer-worker-student coalition."[4]

Alfabetimos was the teaching manual and was distributed

amongst the young volunteers. The first section explained the job and hopefully made the rural transition easier. The second part was an exposition of twenty four revolutionary themes. It set the tone of the campaign.

1. The Revolution
2. Fidel is Our Leader
3. The Land is Ours
4. The cooperative Farms
5. The Right to Housing
6. Cuba Had Riches and was Poor
7. Nationalization
8. Industrialization
9. Army Barracks to Schools
10. Racial Discrimination
11. Friends and Enemies
12. Imperialism
13. International Trade
14. War and Peace
15. International Unity
16. Democracy
17. Workers and Farmers
18. The People United and Alert
19. Freedom of Religion
20. Health
21. Popular Recreation
22. The Abolition of Illiteracy
2 . The Revolution Wins All the Battles
24. The Declaration of Havana

The twenty-four themes were the volunteer teacher's introduction to a new world. The excitement of being the foundation of this new world was nurtured by seminar discussions of the themes. The word made the dream concrete for not only the peasant but also the teacher.

The student primer, *Venceremos*, was also built around revolutionary themes. Photographs and discussion of the progress and progress-to-be of peasant life began each of the fifteen lessons. The lessons were progressively more difficult both in terms of revolutionary conscioussness and literacy:

1. OEA (Organization of American States)
2. INRA (Institute of Agrarian Reform)
3. The Cooperative Farm Under Agrarian Reform
4. The Land
5. Cuban Fisherman
6. The Peoples Store
7. Every Cuban a Home Owner
8. A Healthy People in Free Cuba
9. INIT (National Institute of Tourist Industry)
10. The Militia

11. The Revolution Wins All the Battles
12. The People at work
13. Cuba Is Not Alone
14. The Year of Education
15. Poetry and the Alphabet

The progression of revolutionary consciousness is treated extremely well in Fagan's *The Transformation of Cuba*. The first two lessons of *Venceremos* deal with the central concern of peasant life—land, crops and food. Hardships and improvements were obvious to the peasant and the primer exploited this reality to politize him. OEA had honored the United States blockade of Cuba and the peasant learned why replacement parts for his tractor were unavailable. INRA had just initiated land re-distribution and the peasant had his own land. Before the revolution he was a sharecropper. By the end of the primer the peasant learned about the history of the revolution (The Revolution Wins all the Battles) and world politics (Cuba Is Not Alone).

The primer and the volunteer teacher continually stressed that the revolution belonged to the peasant. The obvious contradictions of life before 1960 and life in revolutionary Cuba were recorded and this bound the peasant and the revolution. The phenomenon was that the peasant could now record.

The literacy element of the campaign began with the words of peasant life. With each new lesson the generative words were built upon very much like the technique introduced in Paulo Frier's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.[7] Kozol illustrates the process :

First Step: Conversation

Conversation between the brigadista and the pupil in regard to the photograph in the primer...

(*a*) to find out what the pupil knows about the subject of the photo

(*b*) to provoke oral expression

(*c*) to clarify the concepts

Second Step: The Reading

A complete reading of the text that appears beside the photo:

(*a*) first by the teacher: slow and clear

(*b*) second by the teacher and the pupil at the same time

(*c*) third by the pupil all alone

Third Step: Practice and Exercise

    (*a*) recognition of a phrase or sentence that has been selected...

    (*b*) breakup of that phrase or sentence into syllables

    (*c*) examination of each syllable within an exercise[8]

Exams and teacher observations evaluated the progress of the peasant until he was able to read and write. *Methods and Means* and *Children of the Revolution* both reprint exams and observation forms as well as some of the letters peasants sent to Fidel upon course completion.

The formula for literacy and revolutionary zeal is less important although not exclusive of the people involved. To label the campaign a "national happening" is to abstract real lives and yet by campaign's conclusion, December 22, 1961, it appeared that each Cuban had been touched. Those who were taught included peasants, workers, fisherman and old folks. The teachers in the beginning were young volunteers but as the campaign progressed worker taught worker, neighbor taught neighbor and professional teachers supervised and assisted the volunteers.

The youngest teacher listed, a child named Elan Menendez, was eight years old. The oldest student by way of contrast, was a woman of one hundred and six who had been born— and grown up—as a slave.[9]

Lorenzetto and Ney's figures show that by campaign's end there had been over 100,000 youth teachers, 25,000 worker teachers, 120,000 peoples instructors and nearly a million students. That the campaign has been a permanent influence on their lives is unquestionable. Kozol's book portrays a number of these lives. Maria, the sixteen year old teacher, and Nenno and Ana, the peasants whom she taught, as well as fourteen-year-old Miguel and the two families he taught personify the campaign. Maria had heard Fidel's United Nations speech and wanted to join the struggle. She worked with Ana during the day and taught the couple and a neighbor at night. Reading, as Dr. Febles said above, is what Maria brought the peasants.

The motivation was certainly not just floating in the skies. It was prompted, and awakened, by the conscious efforts of

the brigadista. It was our obligation to explain the meanings of the words we chose. First we used the photo. It was a photograph of lots of people in black ties and such—at one of the official sessions of OEA. Then we led our students into conversations of what was taking place. We would explain the meaning of a term like OEA, not perhaps as U. S. diplomats would like us to describe the OEA but in a manner that I think you, or even your government today would very likely view to be correct and true. I would say something like this:

We are looking at a picture of a meeting where the North and South American nations came together to decide on certain plans. One of those plans was to attempt to end our revolution by denying to us the medicines and tools and trucks and tractors we would need to carry on the revolution. The attack on Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs) helped us to teach that lesson a whole lot.

Other words—like INRA—came, of course, much closer to the bone. INRA was the means by which our families won their livelihood: their land. We went much deeper into INRA, therefore, and also into other words and phrases of this kind. There, it is safe to say that we did not need to provoke or to bestir.. The motivation was already waiting in the earth and in the air.[10]

What the peasants and the campaign, brought Maria is better said in her own words.

It was the campesino families, though, that made the difference for all of us. By the end, that family seemed to be my family. Ana was like a sister to me; Nenno seemed to me just like my father.[11]

The family mentioned above and the campaign in general opened up a whole new world. Maria was a woman—a human being—and a revolutionary. Three impossibilities in pre-revolutionary Cuba.

The Great Campaign gave me the concrete knowledge, for the first time, of the forms that exploitation could assume. It also taught me something that I had already felt but never yet had

tested with my life, with my own hands...The literacy struggle
was the first time in my life, and I believe the first time in my
life, and I believe the first time in our history as well,
that women were given an equal role with men in bri-
nging about a monumental change. Today we speak of
the New Woman and New Man. It is a phrase that
first came into common use only in recent years, but it began
to be a concrete truth in 1961.[12]

The second teacher Kozol spoke with, Miguel, began teaching
after his mother reluctantly gave permission and after a short
training period at Varadero.[13] Miguel first helped the family he
was to teach build a second room on their house. Then, as was
the experience of other teachers, his teaching was met with some
resistance.

After all our work in building the house we settled down to
learn. We would pick coffee beans in the morning and the
afternoon. At night we would turn up the lantern and begin
to read and write. At first I taught only one student—the
father, since the woman did not want to start the lessons. In
all honesty, she did not really want me to remain there. For
fifteen days she would not speak my name. I didn't mind.
I taught the men. I did the best I could. Then one day I
noticed something that gave me a surprise. I saw that she
was reading in secret when she did not think that I was there.
I asked her: Please. Why don't you let me try? After a
month she started to write for the first time in her life.[14]

Miguel left when both husband and wife could read and write.
Like Maria and many others departing was a tearful event. "When
I left, that woman cried. Her husband cried as well. I also cried.
They had passed their last exam and written letters to Fidel."[15] A
chance meeting in the early 1970's between Miguel and the man
he taught further exemplifies the success of the campaign.

We talked a while and then he asked me how my life had been
since he had seen me last. I said I was a student at the
university now. He laughed and said he was a student, too.
He was studying also—only he was following a course in
agricultural technology. Then he would go back to his home
village.[16]

We too have our "rags to riches" stories and yet somehow the story of the literacy campaign and subsequent education in Cuba makes it rule rather then exception.

Another volunteer teacher captures the meaning of the campaign. Armando Valdezs' words concur with Maria's and Miguel's as well as a great number of the other brigadistas.

> I never could have known that people lived in such conditions. I was the child of an educated, comfortable family. Those months, for me, were like the stories I have heard about conversion to a new religion. It was, for me, the dying of an old life and the start of something absolutely new...I did not need to read of this in Marx, in Lenin, in Marti. I did not need to read of what I saw before my eyes. I cried each night. I wrote my mother and father. I was only twelve years old. I was excited to be part of something which had never happened in our land before. I wanted so much that we would prove that we could keep the promise that Fidel had made before the world. I did not want it to be said that we would not stand up beside Fidel[17]

In the early and middle days of the campaign the success of Fidel's promise appeared tentative. We have already mentioned the unwillingness of the peasant to come forward. Travel from the city to the country also posed a problem but lack of teachers was the greatest difficulty of the early campaign. A two to one student-teacher ratio was the goal of the campaign but the eventual four to one ratio was only a dream in the early days. The teachers during this time were Peoples Alfabetizadores, plain citizens, and Pilot Youth Brigades who were few in number but were a fore-runner of the mobilization of youth. That mobilization was the catalyst that turned the early dissappointments into ultimate success. The youth brigades, Conrado Benitez Brigades, were named after a young alfabetizadore who was murdered by counter-revolutionaries early in the campaign. The brigades formation runs concurrently with the Bay of Pigs as well as with the first disturbing results of the campaign. Of the close to a million illiterates only one hundred and twenty thousand had learned to read and write. The Conrado Benitez Brigades began when school dismissed for summer break. On April 15, 1961 two

thousand kids arrived at Varadero for training. When the train-
ing camp closed on August 31, 1961, over one hundred thousand
student brigidistas were teaching throughout the country. Which-
ever province had the greatest need was where the brigidista was
sent. I mention this because it is consistent with the student-
farmer-worker coalition described above by Dr. Ferrer. Fidel
Castro tried to ease the transition in his Mother's Day speech at
Varadero.

> When you return to your homes, ; ; ; you will be less deman-
> ding and more understanding of your parents. After you
> have learned to live ; ; ; without television, without theatres...
> without paved streets...the chances are that you will never
> again find the soup at home tasteless—or the meat too tough.
> When you sit down again at the tables in your homes, even
> though they be modest tables (and, however/modest they may
> be, the tables of the campesions are more modest), you will
> feel grateful for the efforts and the sacrifices that your parents
> make.[18]

It was not until August that the statistics cited above were
finally compiled. It was known that the Conrado Benitez Briga-
dista had already made an improvement. It was also known that
the campaign had to be accelerated if the goal was to be met.
The Patria o Muerte Workers Brigades began in August and by
September 21,266 brigadistas were teaching the peasants. Other
workers helped pick up the production slack for those who left to
teach. Although success statistics were not available, by October
enthusiasm and confidence reigned. School did not reconvene
freeing students and teachers for continued literacy work. Hours
became longer and accelleration camps were formed in each
province for those people who needed extra work. Certain munici-
palities were swamped with alfabetizadores and success appeared
imminent. The first municipality declared itself literate on
November 5, 1961 and municipality after municipality followed
until December 22, 1961 when Cuba declared itself free of illiteracy.
That day in Havana's Jose Marti Plaza the success of the campaign
was celebrated. Statistically alone that success is phenomenal.
Of just under a million illiterates 707,212 had learned to read and
write. They had passed their tests and written letters to Fidel
Castro as evidence of their literacy and symbolic of their partici-

pation in the revolution. Only 271,995 of a total population of 6,933,253 remained illiterate—3·9 percent. Set these numbers aside those of the other Latin American countries or even the United States and they become even more remarkable.

No Latin American nation had ever brought the figure for non-readers to a point as low as eight percent. The Latin American median, as of 1960, was 32·5 percent. An exact figure for the United States—then or now—is difficult to pin down. UNESCO, however (1973), places it at 6·6 percent, while *The New York Times* has pegged it three times higher, at a minimum of twenty percent.[19]

The statistics though as I have reiterated throughout this essay were not the essence of the literacy campaign. As the red, white and blue flag with the words "territorio libre de analfabetismo" went up on house after house, municipality after municipality and finally aside the Cuban flag the nation had reached its first revolutionary goal. City had met country and both were wed to the revolution. Old, young, zealous, moderate, intellectual and ex-illiterate were all part of the story. What they had accomplished in 1961 though was just a beginning. The intensity of the campaign has led to exceptional educational progress in revolutionary Cuba.[20] The excitement and enthusiasm of the campaign continues with educational progress part of an ultimate goal of "the new man," "the new woman" and the "new World."

FOOTNOTES

1. Jonathan Kozol, *Children of the Revolution*, (New York, Delacorte, 1978), pp. 4, 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

5. Anna Lorenzetto and Karel Neys, *Method and Means Utilized in Cuba to Eliminate Illiteracy*, (Havana, Cuban National Commission, 1965), p. 24.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

7. See Friere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed in which he deals with literacy education and Brazilian peasants.

8. Kozol, *Children of the Revolution*, pp. 15, 16.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

13. Varadero Beach was the training center where volunteers were familiarized with the teaching mannual and the primer. By neccessity training was brief—seven to ten days.

14. Kozol, *Children of the Revolution*, p. 39.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

As each person finished the course he wrote a letter to Fidel which seemed to personalize the campaign and the revolution. The letters are at the Literacy Campaign Museum in Cuba. Kozol reprints some of them on page fifty two.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

17. *Ibid.*, Cover Page

18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

20. See Karen Wald, *Children of Che*, (Palo Alto, Ramparts, 1978).

9. *see Kozol, Children of the Revolution*, pp. 15, 16.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

14. *Ventura Hotel* was the training center where volunteers were familiarized with the teaching manual and the primer. By example teaching numbers seven to ten, then...

15. *Kozol, Children of the Revolution*, p. 53.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
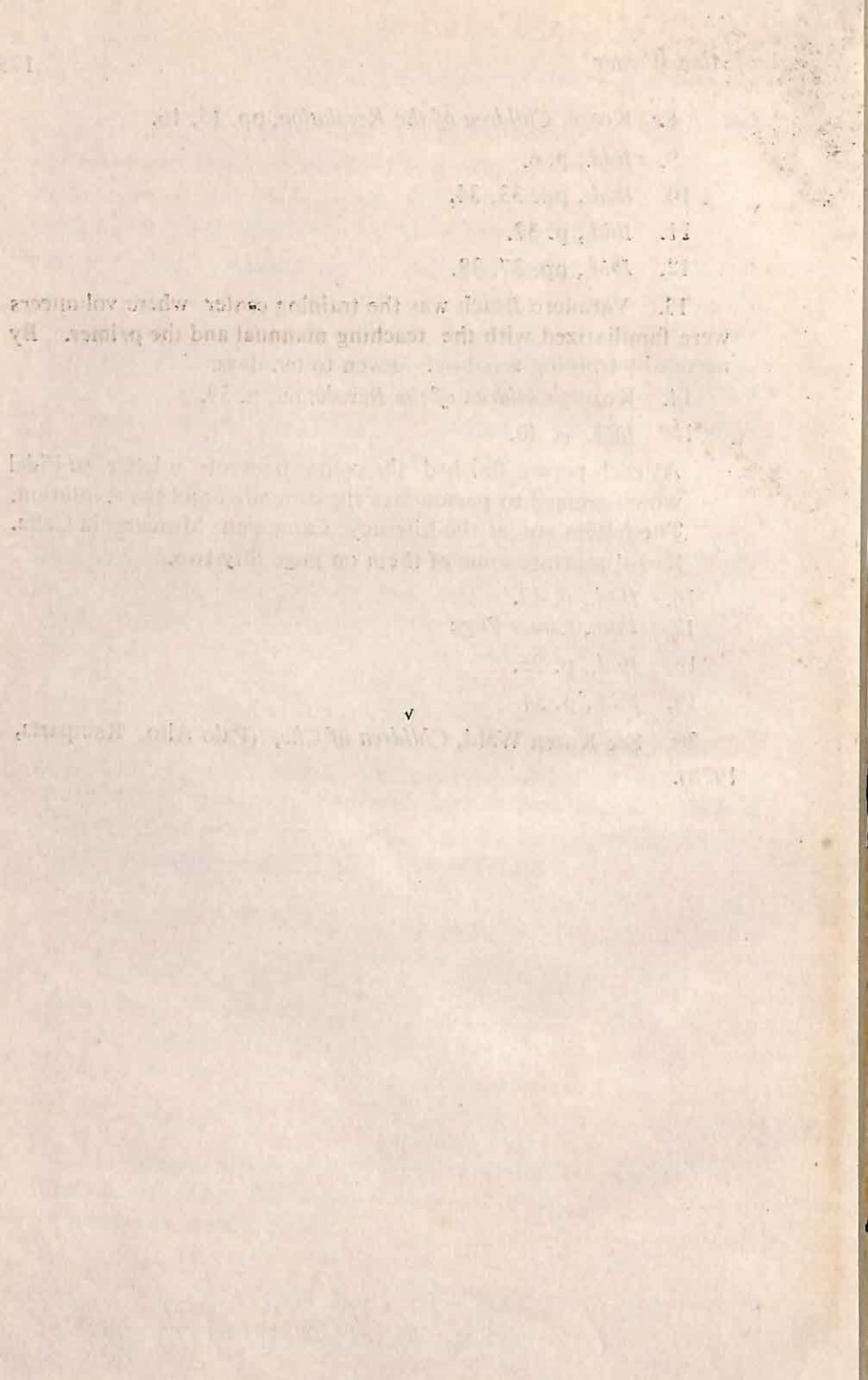
BOOK REVIEWS

Michael A Simon, **UNDERSTANDING HUMAN ACTION :**
Social Explanation and the vision of Social Science ; Published by
State University of New York Press, Albany, New York U.S.A. ;
pp 226 × X. Cloth Bound $ 29·50 Paper Back $ 9·95.

This book is a penetrating inquiry into the question of what
social science is all about. In it, the author challenges the pre-
vailing view with his thesis that the social sciences are sciences
in name only, and are based upon the freedom and uniqueness
of the human subjects of scientific explanation. Combining
sound scholarship with clear, readable phrase, the author explains
why freedom must be premitive conception and indicates the
conditions for the human uniqueness. The author offers a pro-
posal for what the social sciences might become if researchers
recognize that they are not scientists in the ordinary sense of
the word.

The book will prove useful to all the research scholars and
others.

Richard Pratte, **Pluralism in Education : Conflict, Clarity, and**
Commitment, Charles C. Thomas Publishers, Springfield, Illinois.
1979, xxviii, 201, $16·50.

Richard Pratte, a frequent contributor to the *Review Journal*
and a foremost student of cultural pluralism, has brought together
a collection of papers published over the last five years and the
result is an out-standing book. Prattes adds to some of his
previous discussions, revises some of his positions, and adds some
new material in three chapters which were not previously published.
His purpose is to examine the concept of cultural pluralism and
demonstrate its connection to education.

Using a wide net, Pratte examines cultural pluralism from
historical, sociological, critical and analytical perspectives. In

approaching his task in this manner, Pratte makes what is probably his most significant contribution by demonstrating that an analytical philosopher of education, utilizing a broader method than that commonly associated with analysis, can shed considerable light on troubling policy problems.

Pratte suggests and I agree with him that cultural pluralism used as a vehicle for individual and group aggrandizement is a perilous course and may not be the most acceptable alternative for a democratic society carrying with it threats to societal stability. His analysis of the perils of a political interest group acting as an ethnic group to democratic order is searching.

Readers of this book will find it a valuable experience. Pratte's analysis of numerous issues cannot be detailed here but he explores cultural diversity and education, ideology and diversity, cultural diversity and curricular-reform, conspiracy and political pluralism, cultural pluralism and the public school movement, cultural pluralism and relativism, and bilingualism and pluralism. All in all a thorough and comprehensive study if ever there was one.

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Michael V. Belok
Arizona State University
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Guy Ankerl, **Experimental Sociology of Architecture : a Guide to Theory, Research, and Literature**, 1981, New Babylon Studies in the Social Sciences 36, Clothbound, 550 pp., DM 126/US$63·00.

Architecture is not just a visual art, explored only secondarily by other senses; it is a polysensory complex of phenomena, which architects order or elaborate upon through their use of modern building materials and technology. Since architectural space systems affect most directly the network and structure of the face-to-face communication of user groups, communication is taken as the unifying viewpoint to the sociological theory of architecture presented in this book. Architecture is explored in its specificity as a medium, and the author draws metaphorically from the contributions of semiotics and linguistics to discuss it in this context. Based upon research carried out in the USA, Canada, and Switzerland, the author, who is both an architect and a sociologist, presents here a cumulative stock of testable knowledge valid for both disciplines, not only for sociology, but also for what has been designated as "architecturology".

The book is organized in the following way; the space concept is treated in depth in the first part: Part II treats the network and structure of multisensory face-to-face communication within the framework of pure sociology; in Part III the architectural media are examined systematically, level by level, using analogies and differences between the morphology of our media and that of spoken language as part of general linguistics; the fourth and final part deals with epistemological, methodological, and "instrumental" issues inherent in the application of experimental design in the sociology of architecture. Theoretical and practical problems resulting from the experimental study of the effect of architectural space on polysensory face-to-face communication flows are examined in the attempt to accumulate hard findings in the sociology of architecture specifically and in objective, experimental sociology in general. This section in particular is addressed to sociological experimenters, showing research methods and techniques as well as presenting epistemological criteria to direct future research in directions promising solid results. Presenting suggestions for immediate and concrete use by those who do not look for slogans and rhetoric but rather are interested in improving their architectural and/or scientific competence, this book is addressed to scholars in search of an excellent starting point for the development of an objective and experimental sociology, as well as to architects in search of a fresh conceptual basis to stimulate their creativity.

Marshall Swain, **Reasons and Knowledge** : Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1981. pp. 243. $ 22·50.

The central thesis of *Reasons and knowledge* is that knowledge is indeed justified true belief or, more precisely and in the author's words, "Knowledge is indefeasibly justified true belief." To say that something is indefeasibly justified is to claim that it will not be overridden or defeated by sets of circumstances whose existence is unknown to those making the knowledge claim. In particular, Swain puts forward and defends a causal and a reliability theory of knowledge as based in justified belief.

The book is technically complex, a function undoubtedly of the subject matter itself. In spite of this, it is remarkably clear; even the page-length technical definitions can be followed with

comparative ease, owing partly to Swain's lucid writing style and partly to the many helpful examples which he provides.

Swain links justified belief to the provision of reasons, and in doing so distinguishes between evidential reasons and causal reasons; contrary to what one might have expected, it is the broader notion of causal reason which is required by his analysis of justified belief. Swain defends this view by illustrating that even non-belief states such as sensation and perceptual states may operate as reasons; thus to limit reasons to those pieces of evidence explicitly put forward as such by the person whose belief is in question would be to advance far too narrow an analysis. Swain's treatment of the concept of evidential support is weakened, however, as he himself admits, by his failure to provide a definition of the notion and his consequent decision to "take it as undefined."

Swain distinguishes between primary and secondary knowledge, and defends the joint claims that "every instance of primary knowledge is dependent upon the character and quality of the causal ancestry of some of the reasons upon which it is based" and that "every instance of secondary knowledge is ultimately dependent upon the character and quality of the causal ancestries of some instances of primary knowledge."

The author is judiciously thorough in his consideration of objections, both actual and plausible, to his position; consequently, the book contains references to and discussion of the full range of literature on the topic. It is a book both difficult and interesting, but above all, eminently well-argued; one cannot afford to dismiss Swain's conclusions without paying serious attention to his arguments.

Maryann Ayim
The University of Western Ontario